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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 380.

*In the Debate upon the most proper
Method for raising a Body of Ma-
rines, begun in our last, Cn. Fulvi-
us spoke to the following Effect, viz.*

Mr. President,
S I R,

IT is a general Observa-
tion in all Debates, that
those who speak upon
the right Side of the
Question, are generally
the most moderate and cool in the
Argument; and this, I think, was
never more apparent, than in the
present Debate. When I first heard
the Motion, I thought it was a Mo-
tion that could not possibly occasion
any Heat or Animosity amongst us;
but in this Respect I find myself
disappointed, as I have often been
upon the like Occasions; for some
of those that have spoke in favour
of the Motion, have been pleased,
I think most unnecessarily, to make
use of some very warm Expressions.
As the present Question can, in no
Light, be considered any other Way
than as a Dispute about the most

proper Method for raising or form-
ing a Body of Marines, I can see
no Reason Gentlemen have for run-
ning themselves into a Heat upon
the Subject, or for making use of any
warm Reflections against those, who
differ from them in Opinion; and
I am sure, if Gentlemen would
keep close to the Subject, and take
Care to make no Excursions into
Matters that have no Relation to it,
the Debate would be soon exhaust-
ed; because I must think it a De-
bate quite foreign to any Thing
that can properly come this Day
before us.

No Gentleman, I find, Sir, has
questioned its being necessary for us
to raise or form a Body of Marines.
If this had been the Question, we
might have taken it into Consid-
eration, even before we had read or
considered any of the Estimates for
the ensuing Year; but the present
Debate, I must look upon as anti-
cipating the Consideration of the
Estimates laid before us for the Ser-
vice of the ensuing Year, before
they have been read, I believe, by
any Gentleman in this House; for

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If a Body of Marines is to be formed, it must be formed either by raising new Corps for that Purpose, or by employing some of the Regiments we have already on Foot in that Service. If you chuse the latter Method, you diminish the Number of Land Forces that are to be kept up for the ensuing Year; and is not this, therefore, debating the Question about the Number of Land Forces necessary to be kept up for the Service of the ensuing Year, before you have so much as read the Estimate of the Charge of the Guards, Garisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces, for the Year 1740, which was but Yesterday laid before you? Some Gentlemen, who are more diligent than I, may perhaps already have cast their Eye upon this Estimate, but I must confess, that I have not so much as look'd at it; and considering its being so lately laid before us, and that there was no Probability of its coming under our Consideration before Tomorrow, I cannot, in this Respect, accuse myself of any Neglect of Duty. But whatever may be in this, whether I be guilty of a Neglect or no, as I have not seen the Estimate, I cannot take upon me to determine, whether the Address proposed be proper or not, and therefore I cannot at present agree to it.

This, Sir, must with me be a prevailing Reason for being now against the Motion, and ought, I think, to be so with every Gentleman that is in the same Circumstances with me, whatever they may be hereafter; but there is another Reason, a Reason arising from our usual Form of Proceedings, that makes me against the Motion at present. I think it was wrong to introduce such a Motion, and it

would be more wrong to enter into the Merits of it, whilst we are in a House. As it is a Motion that relates to the Number of Troops to be kept up for the ensuing Year, it is proper only for a Committee, where Gentlemen have Leave to speak several Times upon the same Question, and may rise up, as often as Occasion requires, to explain Facts, and answer Arguments or Objections, that can, perhaps, be explained and answered by none but themselves. I have not, indeed, heard any Arguments made use of in Favour of the Question, but such as, I think, may be easily answered by any Gentleman in the House; but others may be of a different Opinion, and one Gentleman has already spoke against the Motion, who, could he be allowed to speak again, as he would be if we were in a Committee, would, I am certain, be able to answer every Argument in Favour of the Motion, to the Conviction of most Gentlemen present*.

Whether out of 28 or 29,000 Men, a sufficient Number may be spared for Sea Service, without leaving the Kingdom defenceless, is a Question, Sir, which, I think, we cannot enter into at present. The Estimates are, 'tis true, before us, but as I have not, and, I believe, few Gentlemen have, look'd into them, I do not know what Number of Land Forces we have on Foot, nor do I know what Number his Majesty thinks necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year. From what I have heard, I believe, his Majesty has augmented his Land Forces: I think it was necessary he should; and when I look into the Estimates, if it from thence appears, that his Majesty thinks 28 or 29,000 Land Forces necessary for

* As it is a Rule in Parliament, so we have made it a Rule in our Club, that, unless we have resolved ourselves into what we call a Committee, no Gentleman shall be allowed to speak above once in any one Debate.

for the Security of *Great Britain*, during this next Year, I am not ashamed to say, it will be a strong Argument with me for thinking so too; because his Majesty must know our Danger better than I can. And if we ought, for the Sake of our own Security, to keep such a Number of Land Forces here at home, what signifies the present Motion? What would it signify to present the Address thereby proposed? If the Body of Marines, allowed to be necessary by every Gentleman that has spoke in this Debate; should be formed from Draughts made out of the Regiments of Land Forces we have now on Foot, those Draughts must, even according to the Motion, be immediately re-placed by raising Recruits. What then can it signify, whether those Recruits be raised for marching Regiments, or for Marines? As Mankind are fond of every Thing that's new, and as common Fellows will be readier to enter into the Sea than the Land Service, I believe, the necessary Number of Recruits will be more easily and quickly raised, when they are all or most of them to be listed for the Sea Service, than if they were all or most of them to be listed for Land Service; and as the War is already declared, I think the most speedy Way the best, especially as it will be the cheapest; for the more ready Men are to engage in the Service, the less we shall have Occasion to give by Way of inflitting Money.

For my Part, Sir, I do not really well know what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by Draughts from the present Regiments of Foot. I hope they would not have the Officers drawn away from our marching Regiments. If you do, you must immediately appoint others in their stead. For, I hope, it will be allowed, that every Regiment of Land Forces must have its full Com-

plement of Officers; and if you are resolved to make your Marines what Marines ought to be: I mean, if you are resolved to make them fit for Land Service, as well as Sea Service, you must form them into A Regiments, and in that Case each Regiment of Marines must have its full Complement of Officers, the same as if it were designed for a marching Regiment to serve at Land only.

Thus it appears, Sir, that with B Regard to the Expence, it is the same Thing, whether the Body of Marines proposed, be formed by Draughts from our Foot Regiments, or by raising new Regiments for that Purpose; and as to the Service, his Majesty is certainly the best C Judge of the most proper Method for forming the intended Body of Marines, because it must depend upon the Service in which they are to be employed. If our Marines are to be employed at Sea only, in order to make up the Complements of our D Men of War, and to leave Seamen for the Merchant Service, new-raised Men are every bit as proper as old Soldiers: Nay, they are rather better, because they will generally consist of younger Men; and in this Case, I shall grant, there would be no Occasion for so many Officers. E But if our Marines are to be employed likewise upon Land, and to be sent upon any Expedition against the Enemy, they must be regimented as other Land Forces are; and in this Case I make no Question, but that his Majesty will, without any Address from us, order the Regiments of Marines to be formed partly by Draughts of private Men from old Regiments, and partly by new Recruits; in which Case, they will, with Respect to Service, be upon the same F Footing with our old Regiments; for every Regiment of Foot now in the Service, must necessarily, by the

the late Augmentation, have a great Number of raw, undisciplined Men in it.

For this Reason, Sir, I must think, that the only Question now before us is, whether the Number of Land Forces, proposed by the Estimate now upon our Table, be the least Number that ought to be kept up for the Defence of this Kingdom; and as this Question was never, I believe, canvassed, but in the Committee of Supply, I cannot think it proper for our present Consideration.

Gentlemen, I find, Sir, are mighty apt to find fault with the Number of our Officers; and I do not in the least wonder at it: The Expence and Danger of such, are popular Topicks that will, I believe, be made use of against every future, as well as they have been against every past Administration. Some of those, who now insist upon these Topicks, may remember their having been made use of against themselves; but, I am sure, no Gentleman will say, that an Army can be kept up without Officers: I believe it will be generally allowed, that the more Officers there are in an Army, the better it will always be. The *French* have a greater Number of Officers in Proportion than we have, and it is this that makes their Armies so formidable; for their common Men are rather worse than those of any of their Neighbours. It is their great Number of Officers that has generally made their Troops superior to the *Germans*; and as the *French* Nation has always been our most formidable Enemy, we ought to take care to render our Troops, at least, as good as theirs: If we can fall upon any Method to render them better, we ought to make use of it; because our Troops are not near so numerous.

We have, 'tis true, Sir, and must

have a great Number of Officers, as long as we keep up either Fleet or Army; but I do not know, that the Nation is alarmed at the Influence attending so many Places Civil and Military. I know great Pains

A have been taken to raise such an Alarm; but, I hope, without any Effect; for Government cannot be supported without Places Civil and Military, and the Number of them must always bear a Proportion to the Largeness of the Society to B which they belong, and the Use that Society may have for them.

Without a proper Number of Officers in a Society, Disorder and Confusion must ensue; and therefore, I cannot think it right to endeavour to alarm the People of a Society C with the Number of Officers Civil and Military, unless there were really a great Number more than were necessary for supporting Order and preventing Confusion, which, I am sure, is not the Case of this Nation at present. In War we must D have more than we can have Occasion for in Peace; therefore I am surprized to hear those, who were so sanguine for a War, pretending to be alarmed at the Influence of such a Number of Officers. They could not but foresee, that in Time E of War, we must increase both our Fleets and Armies; and an Increase in our Fleets and Armies, must always produce an Increase in the Number of our Officers, both Civil and Military.

But this, Sir, is departing from F the Question in Hand. If we are to have a Body of Marines, we must have a proper Number of Officers for commanding that Body; and as no Gentleman denies our being under a Necessity to establish a Body of Marines, no Gentleman can G doubt of our being under an equal Necessity to appoint a sufficient Number of Officers for commanding them. The only Question now before

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before us is, whether we shall diminish the Number of our Land Forces, by drawing from thence a Body of Marines; and this being a Question not yet ripe for our Consideration, nor proper whilst we are in a House, as I have already shewn, I cannot agree to it.

The next that spoke in this Debate was Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I AM glad to find, that every Gentleman, who has spoke in this Debate, seems convinced of the Necessity of our raising a Body of Marines. They are, in my Opinion, Sir, so necessary, that I shall be not only for raising, but keeping them. After they are once properly disciplined, they will do as well at Land, as any of the Regiments we have now on Foot, and always when we stand in Need of it, they will be of great Service at Sea. I have had the Honour, Sir, to serve my Country at Sea. It is now, indeed, a long while ago, almost five and thirty Years; but I have not quite forgot what I then observed; and as I have been at Sea, and have seen Marines on Ship-board, I know better what Use they may be of, than those who never were in that Service. Sir, there are many Services on board a Man of War, which Marines in a very short Time become as fit for, as the best and most thorough-bred Seamen. They cannot, indeed, go aloft, but they can soon learn to manage the Guns, hawl in the Anchors, and, in short, every other Service that is to be performed upon Deck, or any where between Decks.

It is true, Sir, that even for these Services, Men must have some Experience: They must be for a few

Days, or perhaps for a few Weeks, at Sea, in order to season them to that Climate, to learn to stand upon their Legs, and to make themselves acquainted with the several Services, that are to be performed upon A Deck, or between Decks. A Soldier, therefore, let him have been trained to military Discipline as long as you will, is as unfit for being a Marine, as any Fellow just taken from the Plough, or as the meekest Vagabond that can be picked up in the Streets. Sir, a Soldier and a Marine are, I may say, quite different Creatures: They are as different as an Otter and a Fox. Why then should you diminish the Number of your disciplined Soldiers, for the Sake of forming a Body of Marines, when new-raised Men are every whit as fit for the Service? As we have now had a long Tract of peaceable Times, there must be in every City and Town, and in every Corner of the Country, a great Number of idle Fellows, who are not only a Burden, but very troublesome and dangerous to the Country where they at present reside. It will be a publick Benefit to make the Country rid of them, and they may be usefully employed as Marines on board our Men of War. It would therefore, in my Opinion, be a double Prejudice to the Country, to form a Body of Marines by making Draughts out of our Foot Regiments; because it would be drawing away from us those Men who, in Case of an Invasion, would be of great Service to their Country, and leaving at home those, who are at present a Burden, and who, in Case of an Invasion, would be very apt to join the Enemies of their Country.

I shall grant, Sir, that the regular Troops we have now on Foot, would be better for immediate Land Service, than a Body of Marines wholly composed of new-raised Men;

Men; but unless we should be invaded at home, I can see no Reason to suppose, that we shall have immediate Use for either. We are not, I hope, to make any Attack upon the *Spaniards* at Land in any Part of *Europe*; and if we should resolve to attack them at Land in *America*, we cannot propose to send out a Fleet with Land Forces on board for that Purpose, till towards the End of next Summer, because the Heats in that Part of the World are so excessive in the Summer Time, that our Troops would probably suffer more by them than they could suffer by the Enemy. Considering the Humour that at present prevails in the Nation, we may, I hope, be able to compleat the Body of Marines proposed, by new Levies, in a Month or two; and in that Case, they will have seven or eight Months to learn their Discipline, before we can send them out upon any Expedition against the Enemy, where Land Forces are requisite. In that Time they may be made as expert in the Discipline proper for Land Service, as any of the Regiments we have now on Foot, and would, I hope, behave as well as could be expected from any Body of Men whatever; but as it will, probably, be necessary to send a greater Number of Land Forces abroad, upon any Expedition we may undertake, than the whole Number of Marines now proposed to be raised, I believe our Marines, go when they will, must be accompanied by some of the Foot Regiments now in the Service; which shews, that we ought not to diminish our present Quota of Land Forces, by drawing such a Number out, in order to form a Body of Marines.

Whether 28,000 Men be necessary for our Defence at home, is not now, Sir, the Question. Suppose, that so great a Number may

not be necessary; yet surely, in Time of War, we ought to raise and keep up a greater Number of Land Forces than is barely necessary for our Defence here at home. We ought certainly to have such a Number of Land Forces on Foot, as may enable his Majesty to send 8 or 10,000 abroad upon any Expedition he may think fit to undertake, for distressing the Enemy in their own Dominions. Sir, as I most heartily wish to see the War prosecuted in the most vigorous Manner, and as I do not know but that we may have more Enemies than we as yet know of, I shall be so far from resolving to grant no greater Number of Land Forces than are just necessary for our Defence at home, that I am resolved, I came here this Session resolved, to grant as many Land Forces, Seamen, and Marines, as his Majesty should desire; and since I came here, I have heard nothing that can in the least shake this Resolution; for if more Land Forces be desired than are necessary for our Defence at home, I shall suppose, his Majesty intends to send out a sufficient Number of them for attacking the Enemy abroad; and I am sure no Gentleman would desire, that his Majesty should communicate to us his Intentions in this Respect, or should tell us what Number of Land Forces he proposes to send abroad for this Purpose.

I have not yet perused the Estimates that were laid before us Yesterday, no more than the Hon. Gentleman that spoke last; but, Sir, I am extremely glad to hear, that his Majesty desires no more than 28 or 29,000 Land Forces, and 6 or 7000 Marines, for the Service of the ensuing Year. It is to me a convincing Proof, that we have nothing to fear, for next Year at least, but from *Spain* alone; and if that Nation stands alone against

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us but for one Year, I hope we shall be able to give a very good Account of our Campaign. I expected, indeed, that the Demand would have been much greater, and therefore I am surprized to hear Gentlemen boggling at such a Demand, and endeavouring to persuade this House not to agree to it; for this I take to be the plain Meaning of the Motion now under our Consideration. His Majesty has desired 28,000 Land Forces, and 6000 Marines; and we are desired to tell him by Way of Address, that we'll grant him the 6000 Marines, but then they must be draughted out of the 28,000 Land Forces. Is not this an absolute Refusal of the Number of Land Forces desired? Is it not directly telling him, that we will grant him but 22,000 Land Forces? This is certainly the Light this Motion ought to be considered in, and in this Light, I hope there are not many in this House that will agree to it.

I am as much, Sir, as any Man, against keeping up a numerous standing Army in Time of Peace. I wish there were not a red Coat to be seen within the Kingdom. A standing Army is in all Countries an Evil, and in a free Country it is a greater Evil than in any other; but it is an Evil we must submit to, for the Sake of avoiding a greater; and in Time of War, when we must always be in more Danger of that greater Evil, than in Time of Peace, I shall never be for diminishing the lesser Evil; for if our Army were ten Times as numerous as it is, we ought to submit to it, rather than expose ourselves to that greater, I may say, that greatest of Evils; for this Reason, I cannot agree with that Part of the Motion, which advises the Marines to be formed by Draughts from the present Regiments of Foot; nor can I agree with that Part of the Motion,

which advises to have as many private Men, and as few Officers, as the Nature of the Service will admit; because it seems to insinuate, as if fewer Officers in Proportion would do for Marines, than for Land Forces. What other Gentlemen may mean by Marines, I do not know; but by Marines I mean, a Body of Troops that may be employed either at Sea or Land, as Occasion may require; and if they are ever to be employed at Land, they must be regimented, and must have the same Number, and the same Sort of Officers that are necessary for Land Service. Thus, Sir, I have given you my Reasons for being against every Part of the Address proposed, and for these Reasons I shall, most heartily, give my Negative to the Question.

M. Cato was the next that stood up, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

S I R,

IT is a little surprizing, that a certain Set of Gentlemen, notwithstanding the many Admonitions they have had, should always bring his Majesty's Name into every Debate that happens in this House. As a private Gentleman, Sir, I should be ready upon all Occasions to put a full Confidence in his Majesty: To believe we are in Danger, when he says he thinks we are; and to believe that the Sums he demands, and the Number of Troops he proposes, are necessary for our Security. This, I say, I should think myself obliged as a private Gentleman to believe, unless I had very good Reason to think, his Majesty had been misinformed and imposed on. But as a Member of this House, as a Trustee for the Purges, the Liberties, and the Privileges of the People of Great Britain,

Britain, I am under an indispensable Obligation, not to allow myself to be an implicit Believer, even in my Sovereign. As such, I am, in Duty to those I represent, bound to suppose, that every Speech his Majesty makes from the Throne, every A Message he sends under his Hand in Writing, and much more every Demand made in his Name, is the Speech, the Message, or the Demand, not of my Sovereign, but of his Minister, and that therefore I not only may, but ought to examine it with great Freedom, and to believe in nothing but what I am convinced of by incontestable Facts, or unanswerable Arguments.

This, Sir, is my Duty as a Member of this House, and as a Trustee for the Purses, the Liberties, and the Privileges of the People of *Great Britain*; therefore, when a Demand comes to this House for loading the People with a heavy Burden, and endangering our Constitution, by raising, or keeping within the Island, a numerous standing Army, under Pretence of our being in Danger of an Invasion, though it be made in his Majesty's Name, I am to suppose it comes originally from the Minister; and upon that Supposition I ought to consider, whether that Army be demanded E for preventing or defeating an Invasion intended to be made by Foreigners upon our Territories, or for encouraging and rendering successful an Invasion intended to be made by Ministers upon our Rights and Privileges. Gentlemen may talk what they will about reasonable Fears, and causeless Jealousies; but in this Case every Man ought to be guided by his own Conscience, and to take particular Care that his Judgment shall not be directed by any selfish Consideration; and were I the most intimate Friend of a Minister, as the Invasions of Ministers have been much more frequent than

the Invasions of Foreigners, I should rather chuse to be directed by my Jealousies than my Fears: Nay, were I a Minister, or even a Prime Minister, which, I trust in God, I shall never affect to be, I should think him an honest Man, that shewed more Jealousy of me than Apprehension of foreign Danger; and as long as my Designs were honest and just, I should trust more in his Friendship, than in the Friendship of those I found ready upon all B Occasions to receive whatever Impressions I had a mind to make.

I say, Sir, that as the Invasions of Ministers have been much more frequent than the Invasions of Foreigners, we ought at all Times to be more jealous of the former, than C afraid of the latter; but when Dangers are pretended, which we have no Reason to be afraid of, at least no Reason but such a one as must always subsist, and an Argument drawn from thence for convincing us to load the People, and D endanger our Constitution, by keeping a numerous standing Army within the Island, there is then no Room for Jealousy, the Intention becomes evident, which, in my Opinion, is the Case at present. It is ridiculous to imagine, that the E *Spaniards* ever designed to invade us with those Troops that have lately marched into *Gallicia*. When they have a real Design to invade us, they will never prepare for it in that Quarter, as we may be sufficiently convinced by Experience; F because their preparing a Fleet of Transports at any Port in that Province, or in the Bay of *Biscay*, must always give us a seasonable Alarm. Therefore I must suppose, that their marching Troops into that Quarter, was either to guard against our invading them, or to give some People here a Pretence for frightening us with the Danger of our being invaded by them; but this Pretence can be

be of no Weight with those, who consider, that Troops without Ships can never be of any dangerous Consequence to this Island. The Armies of *Spain*, nay the Armies of *France*, let them march where they will, can never give Terror to any Man of common Sense in this Island, unless we find they are preparing Ships for transporting them hither, and this, I hope, we shall always hear of, time enough to prevent the Attempt, which we may easily do, as long as we have a superior Navy.

Suppose, Sir, the *Spaniards* have a real Design to invade us, and that they have marched their Troops into *Gallicia* for that Purpose; we know they have no Fleet of Transport-Ships, either in the Ports of that Province, or in any other Ports within their Dominions, for transporting those Troops to this Island. If they design to invade us with such a Number of Troops, as ought to give us Uneasiness, they cannot, in less than three or four Months, provide a sufficient Fleet for transporting them; and in that Time, as such Preparations cannot be privately made, we shall have Time not only to provide for our Defence, but to put it out of their Power to make the Attempt. This they know very well, and therefore, I am convinced, they will never give the least Countenance to such a ridiculous Project. But suppose they intended to make an Invasion upon us with 4 or 5000 Men, which is the greatest Number they could provide Transports for, without giving us timely Notice of their Design; are we to keep 28,000 Men, or even 18,000 Men here at home, to guard us against such an Attempt? Are the Numbers of the Disaffected here at home so great, that 4 or 5000 Men would enable them to overturn our Government, tho' supported by more than double

that Number of regular Troops in *Ireland*, and more than treble the Number in *Great Britain*? This is what no Man, who is a Friend to the Illustrious Family now upon our Throne; will assert; and therefore, no Man, that is a Friend to our present Establishment, ought, I think, to pretend that we are in the least Danger of an Invasion.

An Invasion, Sir, with such a small Number of Troops, would hardly raise any Commotion, much less a dangerous Civil War in the Bowels of the Kingdom. Even the few Disaffected we have amongst us would be shy of joining such a small Body of Troops: I am convinced, no Man of Family or Fortune would; and therefore, I am convinced, they would re-embark, if we gave them Leave, as soon as they found themselves disappointed of the expected Assistance, or would surrender to the first Body of our Troops sent against them, in Case they found they could not re-embark. From hence I must conclude, that as long as *Spain* continues alone in the War against us, we are not in the least Danger of an Invasion; and suppose *France* should join with *Spain*, we should have no Occasion to provide against an Invasion, especially by raising a numerous Army to be kept within the Island, till they had begun to make Preparations for that Purpose. I do not suppose, that *France* will join in the War against us: I am almost certain they will not, if we take right Measures to prevent it. But if they should join, or if we have now any reasonable Cause to suspect that they will, I am sure we have not yet provided, or proposed a sufficient Number either of Seamen or Marines; and as *France* has not yet joined, nor probably will for some Months to come, instead of being so curious and nice, as we have been since the Beginning of this

this War, about having expert Seamen for manning our Ships of War, we should have begun with taking as few expert Seamen as possible, and filling up the rest of every Ship's Complement with Marines, or able-bodied Landmen. This, I say, we ought to have done, because whilst we were at War with a Nation that could make no Head against us at Sea, we ought to have taken the Opportunity to increase our Body of Seamen, by instructing and seasoning Landmen to the Service, in order to provide against a Nation's entering into the War, that could make some Head against us at Sea. If we had done this, neither our Seamen nor our Trade would have been so much distressed, nor would the Enemy's Privateers have traversed the Seas in Pursuit of our Merchant-men with so much Safety and Success; and in a Year or two's Time, we should have so much increased our national Stock of Seamen, as to have very little to apprehend from the united Power of *France* and *Spain*. What the Event of the War may be, God only knows! I wish it may be successful; but I must say, that, in my Opinion, we have not hitherto taken one right Measure in preparing for it, nor one vigorous Step in carrying it on.

But now, Sir, suppose *France* were already actually engaged in the War against us, I shall grant, that we ought in that Case to have a greater Number of Land Forces on Foot, than we have at present; but should those Forces be kept at home to defend us against Invasions? No, Sir, as long as we are Masters at Sea, with regard to Invasions, we have almost as little to fear from *France*, as from *Spain*: Neither of them can invade this happy Island with any considerable Number of Troops, without a long and expensive Preparation; which Prepara-

tion can be made no where, but in one of their Sea Ports, and there we may send and destroy it, or lock it up, as soon as we hear of it, which we shall always do long before it can be ready to put to Sea.

A Even in this Case therefore, instead of keeping our Troops encamped or quartered at home, we ought to send the greatest Part of them on board our Fleet, or to our foreign Dominions, from whence they could easily make Incurfions or Invasions upon the Enemy. For our Security here at home, if we keep a strong Squadron in the Channel, with a good Number of Ships ready to be put in Commission, we shall never have Occasion to be afraid of an Invasion; and if we would but take a little more Care of our Militia, than we have done for many Years past, we should always be able and ready to repel any sudden Incurfion, nay more ready than we can propose to be any other Way; for we cannot propose to keep 4 or 5000 regular Troops in each County; whereas, if Pains had not been taken to render our Militia despicable, in order to make a standing Army necessary, the Militia of any one County in *England* would be able to encounter, and probably defeat such a small Number of Invaders, without the Assistance of our regular Army.

Thus, Sir, it appears, that for the Sake of defending us against an Invasion, we have not the least Occasion for keeping a standing Army of 28 or 29,000 Men here at home; and therefore, as we have that Number now on Foot in this Island, we may easily spare to send 6 or 8000 of them to serve as Marines on board our Men of War. But now suppose we intend to make an Attack upon the Enemy, as I hope we do, the Gentlemen who have spoke upon the other Side of the Question, have told us, we cannot propose

propose to send out any Troops for that Purpose, before the End of next Summer. If this be the Case, why should we raise any new Troops before the old are sent out? It will then be time enough to consider, whether it be necessary for us to re-place them, and in Case it should, it may soon be done by new Levies, and in the mean time the Pay of a Number of useless Troops will be saved to the Nation: I hope we do not intend to send our new-raised Troops, call them Marines, or what you will, upon any Expedition against the Enemy. What will those Gentlemen say, who have for many Years been telling us, that new-raised Troops are good for nothing, and that therefore we ought to keep a numerous standing Army always on Foot? How can these Gentlemen, I say, answer for it, if they should now in Time of War send new-raised Troops upon the most dangerous Service, and keep at home, where there is no Danger, those Veterans, for whose Skill in martial Discipline the Nation has, for so many Years, paid such large annual Sums of Money? Will it not then with Justice be said, that our veteran Troops are kept at home only for a Raree-Show, and that our new-raised Troops are sent abroad against the Enemy, because they cannot so handsomely dance thro' their Exercises at a Review?

Sir, this may, perhaps, look a little ludicrous; but if we consider what an Effect this Consideration may have upon Men, who have any Regard to their Honour, it must appear serious to every Man, who has a Regard for our present happy Establishment. In Tours of Fatigue, a Soldier, or a Regiment of Soldiers may excuse their not being employed; but in Tours of Danger, especially where Glory and Riches may be acquir'd, every Soldier, and

every Corps of Soldiers, that have any Honour, must look upon it as an Affront, if they are not employ'd in their Turn. This, Sir, may make our veteran Troops our greatest Enemies; and by such Means, that very Army which, for so many Years has been kept up for the Security of the Royal Family, may be the Cause of its Overthrow, and may produce as great a Revolution in this Kingdom, as ever a Mutiny of the *Janizaries* did in *Turkey*.

B For this Reason, Sir, as well as for the Sake of Success, I hope our best Troops will be sent out upon any Expedition we intend for attacking the Enemy, either in *Europe* or *America*. But I am surprized to hear Gentlemen say, we cannot propose to attack *Spain* in *Europe*, or send out any Expedition against them, till the End of next Summer. I shall grant, it is not our Business to attempt making any Conquests upon them in *Europe*; but is this a Reason why we should not annoy them as much as possible, by making Incursions, and plundering the Coasts of their Dominions, even in *Europe*? Can they prevent this as long as we are Masters at Sea? No, Sir, notwithstanding the numerous Army they have, they cannot prevent it; because a Fleet of Ships can sail faster from one Part of the Coast to another, than a Body of Troops can march; and therefore, if we had 7 or 8000 Land Forces on board the Squadron we now have upon their Coasts, they might often find an Opportunity to land, and ransack a great Part of the adjacent Country, and to retire again with Safety on board their Ships, before the *Spaniards* could gather together a sufficient Body of Troops to oppose them. By this Means, we might harass their Troops, and keep their whole Sea-Coast in a perpetual Alarm; and, perhaps, find an Opportunity to destroy those Works,

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our Tameness some Years since allowed them to erect, within Cannon-Shot of *Gibraltar*.

Is there any Reason to be assigned, Sir, for delaying to send Troops upon such an Expedition, till the End of next Summer? Can a Reason be assigned for its not having been already done? I know that the Month of *July*, *August*, or *September*, is the proper Time for sending out a Body of Land Forces to attack the *Spaniards* in *America*; and I likewise know, that if we had followed the Example either of *Q. Elizabeth* or *Oliver Cromwell*, we would have begun the War with such an Expedition. I hope to see more vigorous and better concerted Measures taken next Summer: I hope to see an Expedition sent out for annoying the *Spanish* Dominions in *Europe*, and another for conquering some Part of their Dominions in *America*; but both, I think, may be undertaken without raising so much as one new Regiment; because, out of 28,000 Men, the Number of our regular Forces now on Foot in this Island, we may spare a sufficient Number of Troops for both. As we have now such a prodigious Navy at Sea, I do not think we have Use for a greater Number of Troops at home, than we ever had in Times of the most profound Tranquillity; and therefore I think, we may spare to send at least 16,000 against the Enemy, which is a sufficient Number for both these Expeditions, and a sufficient Number for any Occasion we may have, as long as *Spain* stands alone in the War against us. If *France*, indeed, should declare in Favour of *Spain*, we must then augment our Land Force both abroad and at home; but this we may easily, and almost instantly do by new Levies, and by taking foreign Troops into our Pay; and till this Event happens, we ought to save all

we can, in order to be the better able to support such a heavy War, when it happens to break out.

Frugality, Sir, is extremely necessary at the Beginning of every War; because, after a War is once begun, no Man can tell when it will end. The present War may be of longer Continuance than some People imagine. I have more Fears that Way, than I shall now explain. I shall now only say, that if we accept of no Peace but an honourable one, the War will not, I believe, be soon over; and therefore, we ought to take Care not to run ourselves out of Breath in the Beginning of a long Course. Spite of the most vigorous and best concerted Measures, the War may last for several Years, and may become much more heavy than it is at present; but if our Measures should hereafter be as much influenced by our Fears of an Invasion, as they seem by this Debate to be at present, I may prophesy, that we shall never be able to bring it to a happy or honourable Conclusion. If our Fears of an Invasion at home should so much engross our Care and Attention, as to prevent our being able to take due Care of our Trade or Dominions abroad, the War may, perhaps, end in the Destruction or Loss of a great Part of both; which God in his infinite Mercy will, I hope, prevent; for besides the Ruin it would bring upon this Nation, it would very much endanger our present happy Establishment, and consequently the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

For this Reason, Sir, we ought not to allow ourselves to be induced, by groundless Fears, to be at the Expence of raising or keeping up more Forces, either at home or abroad, than are absolutely necessary; and those we do keep up ought to be employed in the most vigorous Manner, and in those Places where they

they can most annoy the Enemy, or contribute most to the Advantage of their Country. It is our Business in this House to grant what Supplies are necessary for the publick Service; but it is likewise our Business to advise his Majesty to make use of the most frugal Methods, and even to point out those Methods, which we think may be the most frugal and effectual. For this Purpose we stand in Need of no secret Intelligence: We may know the general Circumstances of an Enemy without such Intelligence; and therefore, tho' we cannot prescribe, we may give our Advice with Regard either to Peace or War. This is our Duty; this is all that is attempted at present; and if doing our Duty in this Respect is to be called Animosity, it is a laudable Animosity: It is such an Animosity as, I hope, will for ever prevail in this House. An Hon. Gentleman was pleased to make an Observation, that those who have the right Side are generally the coolest in the Argument: I shall give him two for his one; tho' I am far from saying, that either of them is applicable to any Gentleman in this House. One is, that the Deceitful, who have a Mind to impose upon the Understanding, are always extremely cool in their Arguments; and the other is, that the Advocate who speaks for his Fee, seldom shews such a natural Warmth, as the Man that speaks in his own Cause. In this House it would be in vain for any Man to attempt to impose, and I hope I shall never see any Man in it speak for his Fee; but I do not at all wonder to see a decent Warmth expressed; for I hope every Man thinks he speaks in his own Cause, because it is the Cause of his Country.

The present Question, Sir, is, I think, as much the Cause of my Country, as any Question that ever

happened in this House. The War we are now engaged in is, it is true, as yet but a Bauble: It is as yet a Sort of Toy we may play a little with; but it may become one of the most heavy and dangerous Wars this Nation was ever engaged in; and then we may have Cause to repent of every Shilling we needlessly threw away at the Beginning. There is as great a Difference between being a Miser and being frugal, as there is between being frugal and being prodigal. Frugality is the Mean which a wise Man will always chuse, but the Fool generally launches out into Prodigality, in order to shun the Imputation of being a Miser. In this War, I hope, we shall put ourselves to no Expence for the Sake of Shew: We have had Raree-Shews enough already: I hope, we shall now make the best, the most effectual Use of every Squadron we fit out, and every Regiment we raise or keep on Foot; and I hope we shall neither fit out, nor raise or keep up any more than we have immediate Occasion for. In Time of Peace, these expensive Raree-Shews only prevented our paying off our old Debt; but in Time of War, they will make us contract new, and, by breaking our Credit, may bring sudden Perdition upon the Nation.

This, Sir, is one of the greatest Dangers we lie exposed to, and to obviate this Danger is the Intention of the Motion now under our Consideration. It has no Relation to any Estimate: It relates only to his Majesty's Speech, in which we are told, his Majesty had judged it proper, that a Body of Marines should be raised; therefore, we have no Occasion to look into any Estimate; for this Motion might have been made and agreed to, tho' none of the Estimates had been laid before us. But I am surprized to hear any Gentleman say, that such

a Motion cannot come properly before us, till we take the Estimates into our Consideration in the Committee of Supply. If it had been delayed till that Time, I am sure, it would have been called a very preposterous Motion, perhaps, even by those who now call it premature. In the Committee of Supply we must either approve of, or reject the Estimates: I hope the Gentlemen who now think this Motion improper, would not have us, when we go into the Committee of Supply, to reject the Estimate for Marines, in order to consider of and agree to this Motion; and I am sure, it would be ridiculous to make or agree to such a Motion, after we have approv'd of an Estimate for raising the Marines by new Levies. But if this Motion should now be agreed to, we may put off taking the Marine Estimate into our Consideration, till we have a Return from his Majesty to this Address; and if he should approve of our Advice, he would certainly order a new Estimate, conform thereto, to be laid before us.

The present is, therefore, the only proper Time for taking this Motion into our Consideration; and as I have shewn, that we can have no Occasion for such a great Number of Land Forces, besides Marines, I think the Motion ought to be agreed to. I shall most readily join in Opinion, that a Body of Marines ought to be formed; and that it ought to be such a one as may, upon Occasion, be fit for Land as well as Sea Service. But Gentlemen seem to mistake the principal Design of having a Body of Marines: They ought to be principally designed to come in Aid of our national Stock of Seamen, and that we may not be obliged to draw away from our Trade too many of that necessary Body of Men. If this be, as it ought to be, the chief

Design, there is no Occasion for forming them into Regiments, or for putting ourselves to the Expence of having any Generals or Field Officers of Marines. Such Officers of Marines are no Ways necessary for any Service, unless it be for the Service of Ministers in this House. The Expence of such Officers is, therefore, what we may and ought to save to the Nation. It is an Expence in which we have been long most extravagant, even with Respect to our Land Army. We have long been at as great an annual Expence for our Land Army, as would maintain double the Number, according to the Establishment in any other Country of Europe. In France, it is true, as they have Officers *en Seconde*, they may have as many, perhaps, more Officers than we; but the Pay of their Officers is not near equal to ours; and if it were, France would be but a bad Example for us. In that absolute Monarchy, they have a great Number of Officers, in order to have a great Number of their Nobility employed in their Army, and thereby kept dependent upon the Crown.

This, Sir, is the true Reason, why the French have such a Number of Officers, and not, as an Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to assert, because it makes their Troops superior to the Germans; for it is not really so in Fact. In the last Age, the French Troops were better than the Germans, because they were much better disciplined; but now that the German are equally disciplined, tho' not equally officered, they are rather better than the French, as appeared in the last War between these two Nations, when the French trusted more to their Numbers, or to their Art and Intrenchments, than to the Bravery of their Troops. But the very Reason that induces the French to have a great Number of Officers, ought

to be a Reason for us to have as few as possible; for a great Number of Officers, whether Civil or Military, as they are all, by our present Constitution, in the Nomination, and most of them removable at the Pleasure of the Crown, must create such a Dependence upon, and thereby establish such a Power in the Crown, as is inconsistent with a free Government or limited Monarchy. I was really surprized to hear an Hon. Gentleman say, that he knows of no Alarm spread among the People by the great Number of Officers, Civil and Military, we have at present. One would from thence be apt to suspect, that he keeps Company with none but Officers, Civil or Military; for I will venture to say, that no Man can go into any other Sort of Company without hearing some of them express their Fears upon this Head: And yet from his saying, that we have no more Officers, Civil or Military, than are necessary for the Ends of Government, one would be apt to suspect, that he knew very little of the Nature of those many new Offices that have been of late Years created, or of those old Offices that have been split into several Parts, in order to increase the Number of Officers.

Every Man, Sir, that knows any Thing of our present Circumstances, must know, that we have a vast Number of Places that are absolute Sine-Cures; and these, I am sure, can be necessary for no End of Government, whatever they may be for the Ends of Corruption. Of this Sort, Sir, was our late General of Marines; and in the same Light shall I look upon every General, Field Officer, Pay-master, Commissary, and Chaplain of Marines, that shall be hereafter created or revived. I know that Marines ought to be Men bred to Land, as well as Sea Discipline; and for this Reason,

Men who have already learned the Land Discipline, are more fit for Marines, especially as we have immediate Use for them, than raw or fresh Men, that know nothing either of Land or Sea Discipline.

A But Gentlemen, I find, mistake the Land Service, which Marines ought to be designed for: If Marines were to serve a whole Campaign at Land, and to be made a Part of a regular Land Army, I shall grant, that they ought to be formed into Regiments, and to be officered in the same Manner as other Land Forces are; but this is a Service that Marines ought never to be employed in: When such an Army is to be formed, a sufficient Number of Land Forces ought to be sent out for that Purpose. The only Land Service that Marines ought to be designed for, or employed in, is to support our Seamen in storming a Town or Castle, after a Squadron of Men of War has so battered and bombarded it, as to make an Assault practicable; or to make an Incurſion upon some open Country, where there are no regular Troops, or not such a Number of regular Troops as can be called an Army, to oppose them; and for both these Services a Body of Marines, formed into independent Companies, are as good as if they were formed into regular Regiments.

For this Reason, Sir, if we are to raise 6 or 7000 Men, formed into 6 Regiments, and regularly officered as other Land Forces are, I shall consider them as Land Forces, and as an Addition to our Land Army. You may call them by that favourite Name, Marines, in order to put a Cheat upon the Publick, which I think no Way necessary upon the present Occasion; but you cannot employ them as Marines: At least if you do, the Field Officers

cers belonging to them will be quite useless, and their Pay an unnecessary Expence to the Publick, as long as their Regiments are employed as Marines. I shall readily agree to the forming a Body of 6000 Marines, or double that Number, if A it should appear to be necessary; but that Body ought, I think, to be formed into independent Companies, and brought in Aid of our national Stock of Seamen, in order, as I have said, to prevent our being forced to draw too many Sailors away from our Trade; and as we have immediate Occasion to employ them at Land as well as Sea, the private Men ought, I think, to be drawn from the Regiments now in our Service, and our best and most experienced Captains and Subalterns C appointed to command them. This is the Design of the present Motion, and therefore I cannot but approve of it.

Having already troubled you too long, Sir, for which I beg Pardon, I shall conclude with observing, D that by the Method of arguing made use of in this Debate, by those who have spoke upon the other Side of the Question, they have not only condemned all the Arguments they have themselves been making use of for these 20 E Years, in Favour of a standing Army, but also they have condemned the Measures lately taken for manning our Navy. I believe, there is no experienced Officer in our Army, but will confess, that it requires longer Practice and more Pains to F teach common Men a natural and quick Use of the Musket and Bayonet, so as that they may exercise them in a Body regularly and without Confusion, than to make them Masters of all the Marches and Counter-Marches, or Evolutions G and Evolutions, that are practised in the most regular Army; and accordingly at all Reviews we find,

that Regiments oftener fail in their regular Firings, or in Charging and Discharging, than in any other Part of the Exercise: Therefore, if new-raised Men can in a few Days, or a few Weeks, sufficiently learn the Use of the Musket and Bayonet, which is the most difficult Part of Discipline, I am sure, we have no Occasion for keeping a standing Army always on Foot; and however much we may neglect regular Firing on board our Men of War, B I must take Notice, that when one of our late *Spit-head* Expeditions, for, I think, we have had several, was joined by a small Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, it was observed, that the Men on board the *Dutch* Ships were daily exercised in the Use of the Fire-lock, and that they charged and discharged as regularly and as quickly, as could be expected from regular Troops.

Thus, Sir, have these Gentlemen condemned the chief Argument they have been making use of for these 20 Years in Favour of a standing Army; and by the Arguments they have now made use of in Favour of Marines, and for our supplying that Service by new Levies, they have condemned the whole Tenor of our late Practice for manning our Navy. The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, who has himself had some Experience in the Navy, has told us, there are many Services on board a Man of War that may, with a little Experience, be performed by Landmen as well as Seamen; and that this Experience may be soon acquired by a Fellow just come from the Plough, or by a Vagabond just pick'd up in the Streets. I believe what the Hon. Gentleman says to be true, as I shall be ready to do any Fact he advances: I believe a Ploughman or a Vagabond, if he be an able-bodied Man, may much sooner learn to hawl in an Anchor, or to perform

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perform any such Service on board a Man of War, than he can learn the Use of the Fire-lock; but if this be so, why, accept of none, or a very few, for our Ships of War, but such as were expert Seamen? Why, refuse many able-bodied Vagabonds, that were pick'd up in several of our Counties, and sent at a great Charge to the Sea Ports, where our regulating Captains were posted, and many able-bodied Landmen that came to offer themselves to the Service? Why, offer no Reward to Landmen, as well as Seamen, that should voluntarily come to list in his Majesty's Sea Service? Sir, what Instructions our regulating Captains had, I know not; but I know, that they refused or rejected a great many Landmen, and not a few Seamen: Whereas, in a Time of such Distress, every Man that had no infectious Distemper upon him, nor any natural Infirmary, ought to have been accepted. And if we had begun with forming a Body of Marines by Draughts from our regular Regiments, which his Majesty might have done, as soon as he found a War unavoidable; we might have re-placed them by new Levies, and might by this Time have had in the *West-Indies* such a Number of Marines, as would not only have taken, but held any Place we thought fit to attack; for as our Squadron in that Part of the World can meet with no Opposition at Sea, they might, as soon as they arrived, have sent every one of their Marines upon some Expedition at Land; and as the Enemy has no regular Army there, a Body of disciplined Soldiers, formed into independent Companies of Marines, would have been as fit for the Service, as the best and most regular Regiments we can send thither.

I think I have now answered every Objection that has been made

to the Motion; I hope, Sir, I have given such Arguments for it, as are convincing, and therefore, I hope, every Gentleman that hears me, will join with me in giving his Affirmative to the Question.

M. Cato having thus finished his Discourse, M. Tullius Cicero rose up, and concluded the Debate with a Speech in Substance thus:

Mr. President,

S I R,

WHATEVER other Gentlemen may suppose with Regard to the Speeches or Demands of their Sovereign, I think it is the Duty of his Majesty's Servants, even tho' they be Members of this House, to talk with great Respect of those Speeches that are made by him, and of those Demands that are made in his Name, as well as of those Messages that are signed by him; and when they know, which some of them may do, that they are not the Speeches or Demands of Ministers, but the real Speeches or Demands of their Sovereign and Master, they may, I think, make use of his Majesty's Name, even in this House, without incurring any just Censure. I know that no Member of this House ought to have an implicit Faith in any Man, or in any Opinion: We ought to give Credit to no Fact, unless it be vouched by undoubted Evidence, or supported by proper Authority, in Cases that will not admit of Evidence: Neither ought we to assent to any Opinion, unless it be established by solid Reasoning. But in State Affairs, particularly in Time of War, Facts may arise, which may be certainly true, and may have sufficient Vouchers, and yet those Vouchers may be such as cannot be laid before Parliament: In such Cases, we must depend upon his Majesty's Authority; and

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the only Method by which that Authority can be communicated, is by Speech, Message, or Demand.

Every Gentleman will, I believe, Sir, allow, that designed Invasions and Insurrections are Facts of this Nature. There may be such Designs, and more probably in Time of War, than at any other Time; there may be sufficient Vouchers of such Designs, and yet those Vouchers may be such as cannot be communicated to Parliament; therefore, had I not the least Concern in the Administration, or in his Majesty's Councils, I should be apt to believe any Insinuation of such a Design, if such an Insinuation should be made by his Majesty, either in express Terms, by Speech or Message, or tacitly, by desiring such a Number of Forces as might be necessary for defeating or preventing the Execution of such Designs. This ought at all Times to be an Argument of some Weight, for prevailing upon us to grant the Number of Forces, both by Sea and Land, which our Sovereign may think necessary; but in Time of War, this Argument ought to have a much greater Weight; because our Sovereign may then have in View, not only to defeat the secret Designs of our Enemies against us, but to execute some secret Designs against them.

I shall admit, Sir, that it is our Duty in this House to be jealous of the Liberties and Privileges of the People, and to be as sparing of their Purse, as is consistent with their Welfare and Security. But both Jealousy and Frugality may be pushed too far: Jealousy often prompts the Suspected to that which would never have entered into their Heads, if they had not found themselves causelessly suspected; and by not giving a little to those that are to defend us, we may have the Whole taken away by those that

are to attack us. I am certain, we had never less Cause to be jealous than we have at present: No one Step of his present Majesty's Conduct could ever furnish us with the least Intimation of his having a Design to inroach upon our Liberties and Privileges, or to make a bad Use of the regular Troops we keep on Foot. Nay, if he had any such Inclination, the Complexion of our present Army would prevent his indulging that Inclination, by forming Designs against our Liberties: The Education and known Sentiments both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army, must convince us, that they are as great Enemies to arbitrary Power, as any other Set of Men in the Kingdom; therefore, I shall always look upon our Army as a Guard to our Liberties, and the more numerous it is, the better, I must suppose, our Liberties will be guarded.

It is not, Sir, from any Apprehensions I have of our Army, with Regard to our Liberties, that I am against its being made more numerous than is now proposed. It is the Expence alone that gives me any Concern; and upon this Account only, I shall always be against our raising or keeping up a greater Number of Troops than I think absolutely necessary for the Security of our Liberties, Privileges, and Properties. But my Concern in this Respect, I shall never allow to carry me so far, as to expose the People to be invaded and plundered by their Enemies, for the Sake of saving them that Trifle of Expence, which may be necessary for keeping on Foot a few more Troops, or for maintaining a few more Officers; and considering that the Saving to be made by what is now proposed, would amount but to a mere Trifle, I should never forgive myself for such a trifling and ill-timed Frugality, if any Corner of our Dominions

minions should be plundered and laid waste, for Want of a sufficient Number of regular Troops to repel an invading Enemy; or if the Marine Forces we send abroad should, upon any Engagement, run into Confusion, and be destroyed, for Want of Field Officers to command them, and keep them in Order.

I know, Sir, it is our Duty in this House, to give our most sincere Advice to our Sovereign, as often as any important Occurrence makes it necessary; but, in order to give that Advice its proper Weight, we ought to take Care that it shall always be attended with Dignity; therefore, we ought not to interpose with our Advice too frequently, or upon trifling Occasions; and we ought never to give it but upon full and mature Deliberation. The Affair now before us is, I think, of too trifling a Nature for us to interpose with our Advice, especially as it has not been particularly asked upon the present Occasion; and I am sure it cannot be said, that we have fully and maturely considered what we are about. The Address proposed must be allowed to be something very different from an humble Advice. As the Estimate for Marines, prepared by his Majesty's Order, is now before us, this Address will be look'd on, as a Condemnation of that Estimate; for if that Estimate be properly drawn up, if the Method thereby proposed for raising Marines be the most proper and frugal that can be thought of, what Occasion can there be for such an Address? If we approve of the Estimate, it would be ridiculous in us to present such an Address; therefore, our agreeing to, or presenting such an Address, must be considered as a Condemnation of the Estimate now before us; and I appeal to every Gentleman of this House, whether he has sufficiently examined that Estimate for enabling

him to pass Sentence of Condemnation upon it. Such a Sentence ought not, I think, to be passed, till the Estimate has been actually read in the House; but so far from being read in the House, I believe, it has been read but by a very few Members of the House; and therefore, if no Gentleman gives his Vote for the Address or Sentence of Condemnation proposed, but he that has read the Estimate, I believe, I may easily guess what will be the Fate of the Question.

Sir, I hope I may suppose, that in order to fix upon the most proper Methods for raising and forming a Body of Marines, those who have the Honour to advise the Crown, took Care to examine the several Establishments of Marines made in former Times, and the several Services they were employed in; and as there are several Persons still alive, who were in the Service in *K. William* and *Q. Anne's* Time, I may suppose, that those Persons were examined, in order to know from them, how the Marines performed the Services they were employed in, and the Defects or Advantages that were found in the Establishments then made. This, I must suppose, was done by those who have the Honour to advise the Crown, before they could think themselves qualified for giving a proper Advice; and this I think we ought to do, before we can agree to such a Motion as the present. But can it be said, that we have made any such Inquiry, that we have examined any one Person, or that we have before us any one of those Papers, which we ought to look into, before we presume to give his Majesty any Advice upon this Head? Therefore, this Address, call it an Advice, as some Gentlemen pretend it is, or call it a Condemnation of the Estimate now before you, as I think it really is, in short,

short, call it what you will, it cannot be said to be the Effect of a mature Deliberation; and therefore, it cannot be attended with that Dignity, which we ought carefully to preserve in all our Applications or Approaches to the Crown.

For this Reason, Sir, if I approved of the Advice proposed, I could not approve of this hasty and inconsiderate Manner of resolving upon it; but the Advice itself is such a one as I cannot approve of. It is to me, indeed, a very new Sort of Doctrine, that in Time of War, we have no Occasion to keep within the Island a greater Number of Troops, than in a Time of the most profound Tranquillity. When we are at open War with a Nation that has a considerable Navy, tho' nothing equal to ours; when that Nation has a great Number of veteran Troops in their Provinces that are next to us; and when they are every Day fitting out both Men of War and Transports, I should think it very unwise in us, not to keep at home for our Defence, a more numerous Army than we usually have in Time of Peace. We may despise the naval Power of *Spain* in our Speeches and Conversation here at home: I shall grant, it is no way equal to ours: I shall grant, they have but few Ships of their own fit for being made Transports; but there is always a great Number of foreign Ships in their Harbours: Before the War broke out, there were often more *British* Merchant Ships in their Harbour of *Cadix*: alone, than would have been sufficient for transporting 10,000 Foot to *Britain* or *Ireland*; and as that Trade must still be carried on, and will now be carried on by the Merchant Ships of *Holland*, *France*, and other Nations, we must suppose, that there will always be more foreign Ships in the Ports of *Spain*, than are necessary for transporting 10 or 12,000

Infantry to this Island or to *Ireland*. These Ships the Court of *Spain* may, by an Embargo, force into their Service; and as our Fleet may be lock'd up in the Channel by contrary winds, it may be impossible

A for us to send out a Squadron, either to intercept their designed Armado, or to lock it up or destroy it in their Harbour. This is an Accident we can provide against no other Way, but by having at all Times a Land Army equal to any they can invade us with, for opposing them at, or soon after their Landing; and therefore, I shall always be for keeping a more numerous Body of Troops within the Island in Time of War, than was ever thought necessary in Time of Peace.

C But besides the Number of Troops necessary to be kept at home, for guarding us against Invasions or Incursions, surely, Sir, in Time of War, we ought to have some certain Number of regular Troops ready to be sent out upon such Designs against the Enemy, as future Incidents may encourage us to undertake. As the Winter Time is the best for attacking the Enemy in *America*, we cannot, perhaps, send out any Land Forces for that Purpose, before the Month of *July* next; but there are other Places where we may, perhaps, attack the *Spaniards* with Advantage to ourselves, and great Prejudice to them; and, for this Purpose, it may be proper to send out a Body of disciplined Troops early in the Spring.

F I do not know that his Majesty has, at present, any such Project in view; but, suppose he has not; yet many Accidents may occur before that Time, for rendering the Success of such a Project not only probable but certain; and could any one approve of our Conduct, if we should lose such an Opportunity, by not having a spare Body of Land Forces ready to be sent upon the Execution?

tion? Could the saving of 80 or 100,000*l.* which is the utmost we can save by what is now proposed, any way counter-balance the Advantage we might reap by the Success of such a Design?

I cannot pretend to say, Sir, whether this War can be of a long Continuance or no; but, I am certain, that the most infallible Method we can take, for making it of a long Continuance, is to be so parsimonious at the Beginning, as not to make the proper Provision for carrying it on with Vigour. We are told, by the highest Authority, that they who go to War ought to consult, whether they be able with 10,000, to meet those that come against them with 20,000. But, it seems, we must be able to do a great deal more; for with 28,000 Land Forces, we propose to overcome *Spain* with above 100,000. 'Tis true, our Navy is much superior to theirs; but, by our Navy alone, we cannot propose to force them to a Peace: We must attack them at Land some where or other; and, for this Purpose, we must have a sufficient Land Force. I believe they have not at present any great Number of regular Troops in the *West-Indies*, and we may prevent their sending a great Fleet and Army there at one Time; but we cannot prevent their sending small Detachments in single Ships, or in half a Dozen Ships at a Time; and, by such Means, they may considerably increase their regular Troops in the *West-Indies*, even before we can send any to attack them. It is, therefore, now impossible to tell, what Number of Troops it may be necessary for us to send thither, either for attacking the Enemy, or defending our own Dominions, in that Part of the World; and, if we send veteran Troops thither, the new-raised Troops that are to replace them here at home, ought to

be levied some Months before, in order that they may be trained to Discipline, and ready for Service, before we send away the old; for tho' we ought, and certainly must send out Troops for attacking the Enemy, or defending our Dominions abroad, I hope no Gentleman will say, that we ought, for that Purpose, to leave our Dominions at home defenceless.

I shall not say, Sir, that a Body of 28 or 29,000 Men is absolutely necessary for our Defence at home; but, I will say, that we ought to have that Number at least, besides the Marines now proposed to be raised, in order to be in a Condition to spare 8 or 10,000, as Occasion may require, for distressing the Enemy, or defending our Dominions abroad. And now, Sir, with regard to the Method of raising and forming the Body of Marines proposed, as no Gentleman questions its being necessary to make them fit for Land as well as Sea Service, I am surprized to hear any Gentleman say, that they ought to be formed into independent Companies, rather than Regiments. I believe, every Gentleman that has ever seen any Service, will say, that a Body of Men formed into Regiments, are better for Land Service, and less liable to Confusion, than a Body of Men formed into independent Companies; and this is confirmed by the present Practice of every State in *Europe*. In little Attacks and Skirmishes, where there are not above 2 or 300 Men of a Side, independent Companies may do as well as a Detachment from a Regiment; but, where the contending Armies amount to Thousands, it is certain, that Regiments are more proper than independent Companies; and as this last may very probably be the Case of our Marines, I must think they ought to be formed into Regiments. I shall grant, that whilst those

those Regiments are on board our Men of War, the Field Officers can be of no Service; but I hope they will seldom be for any long Time on board our Men of War: They will be there only during the Time of transporting them from one Place to another; and wherever they go, the Field Officers must go along with them, in order to take the Command of them as soon as landed: Therefore, I hope, no Gentleman will grudge the Expence of 18 or 20 Field Officers, when it comes in Competition with the Behaviour of our Troops, and the Glory of our Country.

Now, Sir, as to the other Officers, if Gentlemen will but take Time to look into the Estimate upon our Table, and compare it with former Establishments of the same Nature, they will see, that the Body of Marines now to be raised, is to have no more Officers of any Kind than former Experience has shewn to be necessary. I know, that the Marines raised in 1692, had 200 Men in each Company; but Experience soon shewed, that such Companies were not fit for Land Service, therefore, they were reduced long before King *William's* Death, to 100 Men in a Company; and in 1702, the Marines that were then raised, consisted but of 60 Men in a Company; whereas, by the Estimate upon our Table, if I may have Leave to mention an Estimate not yet read in the House, the Marines now to be raised, are to consist of 70 Men in a Company, which is the highest Number that, as all experienced Officers say, any Company of Foot ought to consist of.

Lastly, Sir, as to the private Men, of which this Body of Marines is to be composed, I must think, his Majesty is the best Judge, whether they ought to be all new-raised Men or old Soldiers, or partly one and

partly the other; because he knows best, what Service they are to be sent upon, and when they are to be sent. If they are not to be sent out till four or five Months after they are raised, it does not signify much, whether they be all new-raised Men or no, because, in that Time, they will be pretty well disciplined; especially if they are to be sent to the *West-Indies*, because they will have no Enemy to encounter there, but the Militia of the Country, or some of the worst of the *Spanish* Troops; for whatever we may do, I am confident, the *Spaniards* will keep their best Troops at home, to defend their mother Country. If the private Men should be all draughted out of the Regiments now in our Service, it would be a Loss rather than a Saving to the Nation; because an equal Number of Recruits must be immediately raised, for compleating those Regiments, from which the Marines are draughted; and, as it will be more difficult to find Recruits for marching Regiments than for Marines, we must give a greater Reward for enlisting. Thus, if we chuse the cheapest Way of forming a Body of Marines, we must take as many new-raised Men as his Majesty may think consistent with the Service upon which he is to send them; and, I am sure, it will be the quickest; for a great many Fellows that called themselves Seamen, have been rejected or turned out of our Men of War, because they were found not to be expert Seamen, nor any way fit for their Business. These Men will all immediately list as Marines, and will make good Marines, tho' they could not be accepted of as good Seamen; for tho' a Captain of a Man of War, after he has got a sufficient Number of expert Seamen on board his Ship, may accept of able-bodied Landmen, or Seamen, that are not expert in their Business, in order to make

make up his full Complement, yet the regulating Captains could accept of very few but expert Seamen, because they could not know how they were to be disposed of; and by accepting of too many Landmen, or unskilful Seamen, such a Number of them might, by Accident, have been put on board one of our Ships of War, as might have been the Cause of losing the Ship.

Upon this Occasion, Sir, I must desire, that Gentlemen would consider, which of the two Services, the Publick or the Merchant Service, ought, in Time of publick Danger, to be preferred. As we do not in Time of Peace keep a Number of Seamen in Pay, sufficient for manning our Navy in Time of War, when a War first breaks out, the publick Service must be neglected, or the Merchant Service must be distressed. This is a Consequence which it is impossible to avoid, any Way, but by keeping in continual Pay such a Number of Seamen, as may be near sufficient to man the most numerous Fleet we may have Occasion to fit out in Time of War; and until this is done, I am sure, every Gentleman that has a true Regard for his Country, will chuse to have a short Stop or Interruption put to our Trade, rather than to have our Whole exposed to imminent Danger, by not fitting out such a Number of Men of War as may be sufficient for our Defence.

I hope, I have now shewn, Sir, that were the Advice, proposed to be given by this Address, in itself right, it would be wrong in us to give it without a more mature Deliberation; and, I hope, I have likewise shewn, that it appears to be wrong in every Particular. I am sure, no Gentleman that thinks I am right in either of these Cases, can give his Affirmative to the Question; and I shall think myself

very unlucky, if the Majority of this House should think I am wrong in both. As for the declamatory Excursions that have been made about the Alarm given to the People by the great Number of Officers, Civil and Military, we have at present, and about the Danger our Liberties and Constitution may be exposed to by corrupt Practices, they may be, and I find they are introduced into every Debate; but as it would be an endless Task to answer them upon every Occasion, all I shall say to them upon this, is, that we are here in the proper Place for inquiring into such Things: If any Gentleman knows of an unnecessary Office that has been lately set up, or an unnecessary Officer appointed; if any Gentleman knows of any Attack that has been lately made, or attempted, upon our Constitution; or if any Gentleman knows of any corrupt Practices lately introduced, or made use of; he may, nay, as a Member of this House, which is the grand Inquest of the Nation, he is in Duty bound to take Notice of it to the House; but then he ought to be particular: He ought to name the Office or Officer set up or appointed, the Attack that has been attempted, or the corrupt Practice that has been made use of; and he ought to move for an Inquiry into what he finds fault with; for by thus declaiming in general, he can do no Service to his Country, he can give the House no Information, nor correct any Abuse. He does nothing but take up the Time of this House most unnecessarily; for he cannot expect that such general Declamations, tho' they may please the Galleries, should have an Influence upon any Gentleman that has the Honour of being a Member of the House; and much less can he expect their having such an Influence in this Question, where the vigorous Prosecution

tion of the War is at Stake, than in any Question of a different Nature that can come before us.

For Variety's Sake, I shall next give you the Substance of a Debate, in which our Club assumed a different Character. The Debate was occasioned by the Message which was sent by his Majesty to the House of Commons, upon the 12th of February last; and as this Message was not sent, nor communicated to the other House, it occasioned a Debate in our Club, which was opened by M. Horatius Barbatus, who spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

AS no Lord can have a truer Regard for the Honour and Privileges of this House, than myself, so none can feel a warmer Indignation, whenever any Attack is offered them. To preserve this supreme Council of the Nation in the full Enjoyment of all those Rights derived to us from the Constitution of Parliament, is a Duty we owe ourselves, a Duty we owe our Posterity, a Duty we owe our Country. The Privileges of this House, and the Liberties of this Nation, are embarked on the same Bottom, and we cannot forego the one without endangering the other. Our Acquiescence under any Affront, (be it the Effect of Design, or be it the Effect of Neglect) may in future Times be looked upon as a tacit Resignation of our Rights, and be made a Precedent to the Dishonour of this House, and the Destruction of this Kingdom.

I cannot, therefore, too earnestly recommend to your Lordships Consideration, his Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, which we find in the printed Votes of the 12th of this Month. The Words of the Message are these:

GEORGE R.

His Majesty, in further Prosecution of the just and necessary War, in

which he is engaged, having under his Consideration certain Measures, which will occasion some extraordinary Expences not comprehended in the Estimates laid before this House, hopes, from the known Zeal of his faithful Commons, that he shall be enabled to carry on the same, in the most effectual Manner.

BAnd does his Majesty hope less from his faithful Lords, that, contrary to all Form and Custom, a Demand of Supply should be made to the Commons singly, and your Lordships not have the least Cognizance of it? Is it to be supposed, we are not equally zealous for the Success of the present War? Equally desirous of supporting his Majesty in the just Prosecution of it? Or is our Concurrence upon all Occasions thought a Thing so sure, so certain, that the usual Forms of consulting us are to be thus thrown aside? Are we then fallen so low, have we so long flatter'd a Minister, that he can promise himself our easy Compliance, tho' he refuse us the common Civility due to us, and answering for our Conduct, advise his Majesty to apply to the Commons, as the only Part of Parliament that has any Thing left in its Disposal? The Time has been, my Lords, that the Crown with Honour and Success has consulted this House; and sure I am, that I have many Lords now in my Eye, capable of giving such Advice to his Majesty, as would tend to the Glory of his Reign, and the Welfare of his People.

FI am sorry, my Lords, I cannot charitably suppose, that this Contempt of us proceeded from a Mistake and Oversight of the Ministry's. As the House of Commons has been the chief Place of Business this Session, it is possible your Lordships may be as much out of some People's Thoughts, as the Convocation is, but hardly, I believe, out of a Minister's. Some little

little Circumstances or other are perpetually reminding him of us. Besides, my Lords, this is not the first Indignity of the Kind that has been offered us: In the Year 1726, the same Thing happened; and in a Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons (probably penned by the same Hand as this) the Appellation of Parliament was given them, as if the Parliament of *England* were composed of their Body only. I must, therefore, consider the present Case as a repeated Invasion of the Privileges of this House, highly reflecting upon the Dignity of every Peer who has a Seat in it. Why this has been thought a proper Time for such an Attack, I know not, unless it be supposed, that the Essence of Parliament is lost. Was this the Case, my Lords, (which God forbid!) we should do right, however, to keep up the Forms and Customs of it, and maintain at least the Appearance of what our Ancestors enjoyed. If there are any such reflecting Suppositions as these, if there are any such as flatter themselves, that a successful Corruption has banished the Freedom of Parliament, it is our Duty, my Lords, to blast such Hopes, and shew we are not yet such humble Dependants upon Power, as tamely to offer a Sacrifice of our Rights, whenever a Minister pleases to call for them. What a melancholy Prospect should we lay before the Eyes of our Countrymen, whose expiring Liberties call loudly for our Aid, if we the Guardians of their Rights, were no longer to be Protectors of our own!

Who, my Lords, could have been the Author of this Message, I own I am at a Loss to say: It could not have been his Majesty's: His Royal Favours to so many of your Lordships, is a sure Proof of his tender Regard to the Honour and Dignity of this House: It could not have

been dictated by any of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council: They never would have advised so great an Infringement of their own Privileges; nay, they could not even have had Cognizance of it; if they had, they would have prevented it. Whosoever's Work it was, thus far I will venture to say, my Lords, that it was formed upon that fatal, yet favourite Plan of lessening the Credit of Parliament. For this dreadful Purpose, is it not enough, that every Office and Honour in the Church and State pass thro' the Hands of one Man? Is it not enough, that he has it in his Power to put Virtue to the Test, by privately applying that Temptation, which he thinks is most likely to succeed? Must also a general Assault be given to the whole Body of us; and shall the Dignity and Honour of this House be treated as cavalierly as the miserable Character of any single Dependant?

To avoid the Odium and Reproach such an Invasion of our Privileges must naturally incur, it has been artfully insinuated, my Lords, that this is Matter of Dispute between the Commons and us, so that under the Pretence of asserting the Rights of one House of Parliament, the Rights of the other may the more easily be violated. My Lords, this is no Matter of Dispute between the Commons and your Lordships: We ask nothing new, nothing unprecedented: We don't attack any of their Privileges; we only desire to remain in the Possession of our own: Our utmost Ambition in the present Case is, to be look'd upon as a House of Parliament, and consulted by his Majesty as such. When our Rights are thus plain and indubitable, our Case becomes national, and the Commons themselves are interested in the Support of it: Whenever the Dignity and

and Authority of this House is brought low, their Rights and Privileges won't be of long Duration; and whenever any impious Hand dare impose Shackles upon us, the same Fate will be prepared for every other Part of the Legislature.

From such a Calamity the uninfluenced Spirit of Liberty that reigns in this House, the independent Sentiments of your Lordships, (which neither Interest nor Power can wean from your Country's Cause) will, no Doubt, sufficiently protect the present Age; but we may lay Foundations for the future Dishonour of this House, if we let pass unregarded, such dangerous Precedents, as I apprehended this of his Majesty's Demand of Supply to the House of Commons singly. I must, therefore, humbly move your Lordships, that you would come to this Resolution, *That it is contrary to the Customs of Parliament, and derogatory to the Privileges of this House, that a Message signed by his Majesty, asking a farther Supply for the carrying on a War, should be sent to the House of Commons singly, without taking any Notice of this House.*

L. Duronius spoke next in Substance thus:

My Lords,

I SHALL always be as jealous of the Honour, and of the Rights and Privileges of this House, as any Lord in it; and shall be as ready to resent any Indignity that may be put upon it. But, my Lords, we can put no greater Indignity upon ourselves than that of being jealous without Cause, or resenting without Reason. In common Life, a Man that is unreasonably suspicious, and apt to take every Thing as an Affront, is always uneasy in himself, and generally despised by others. It will be the same with your Lordships: If you should suppose you are affronted, when no Affront is designed, or insist upon Rights that do not properly belong to you, it will be the most effectual Method you can take, for lessening or annihilating that Respect which is due to you, as the highest and most august Assembly in the Nation. It is not by Jealousies and Suspicions, or by menacing Resolutions, that we are to

preserve that Character, which this House has for so many Ages deservedly borne, but by a prudent and steady Conduct, and by shewing, that in all our Proceedings we have sincerely at Heart, the Honour of the Crown, the Privileges of the Subject, and the Happiness of the Nation.

A I am not only surprized, but sorry, that any Lord in this House should imagine, that his Majesty, or any one that advised him, intended to put an Affront upon this House, by sending to the Commons the Message which the noble Lord has been pleased to mention, without sending at the same Time the like Message to this House. I am convinced, there was no Affront designed, and I cannot see the least Shadow of Reason, why any Lord should imagine there was. So far otherwise, my Lords, I must think it would have been extremely improper to have sent any such Message to this House, because it relates to nothing but the Supplies for the Service of the ensuing Year. It is the Business of the other House to grant the necessary Supplies, it is from the other House that such Supplies are asked by the Crown, and therefore, it is to the other House, and, I think, to it alone, that Application ought to be made for any additional Supply.

In all the Speeches that have been made from the Throne for many Years past, your Lordships may observe, that our Sovereign has always addressed himself particularly to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, when he mentioned the Supplies necessary for the current Service. In that Speech which his present Majesty made at the Opening of this Session, he addresses himself particularly to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and tells them, that he has ordered the Estimates to be laid before them, and that he hopes they will grant such effectual Supplies as may enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. Was that particular Address to the other House then found fault with? Was it ever found fault with? And yet, I must be of Opinion, that we have as much Reason, or rather more, to find fault with his Majesty's addressing himself upon that Occasion to the House of Commons singly, as we can have, to find fault with his having sent this Message to that House singly.

Our Concurrence, 'tis true, my Lords, is necessary for every Article of Supply that can be granted by the other House; but that Concurrence has always been expected without being asked by the Crown. Why therefore should we look upon its not having been asked by the Crown upon this Occasion, as a Neglect, or as any Sign of Disrespect? No, if your Lordships will but consider the Words of the Message, you must see, that his Majesty could not send it to this House. In that Message his Majesty acquaints his Commons, that

that he has under his Consideration, certain Measures which would occasion some extraordinary Expences, not comprehended in the Estimates laid before that House. Could his Majesty have expressed himself so to this House? Have we any Estimates before us, or was it ever customary to lay any such Estimates before us? The Message therefore, if it had been sent to this House, must have been altered some Way or another; and, I confess, I am at a Loss to conceive, how it could have been altered, so as to make it proper for being sent to this House, without inserting some Words that might have created a Jealousy in the other; and this Jealousy might, perhaps, have bred a Contention between the two Houses, that would have been of the most dangerous Consequence in the present Con-
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junction. This, my Lords, is no groundless Insinuation or Pretence, in order to excuse the not sending that Message to this House as well as the other. The sole Right of granting Supplies is a Right which the other House has always most strenuously asserted, and we as pertinaciously refused to admit. It is a Dispute that has occasioned great Heats between the two Houses as often as it has been revived, and has sometimes put a full Stop to all publick Business. How fatal this might be in our present Circumstances, I must beg your Lordships to consider. We are now, my Lords, engaged in a dangerous War for vindicating the Rights and Privileges of the Nation; and therefore, I must beg, that every Lord who has a Concern for our Success, would take care to avoid every Thing that may give Rise to a Contest about particular Rights and Privileges amongst ourselves. This, I dread, may be the Fate of the present Question. If we should agree to it, I'm afraid, it will be consider'd as a Claim set up by us, that no Article of Supply ought to be demanded of the House of Commons, without demanding it at the same Time of us. This I must look upon as a new Claim: It is a Claim for which we have no Precedent; and it is a Claim that will, I fear, create a Misunderstanding between us and the Commons; for which Reason I must beg Leave to think the noble Lord's Motion no way proper at present; but whether it may be proper to put a Negative upon it, or to put the previous Question, I must leave to your Lordships Consideration.

The next that stood up was T. Quintus, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

WHEN I consider you, my Lords, as the supreme Council of the Crown, and in a yet higher Light, as the hereditary Guardians of the Liberties of a free, brave,

and once flourishing People, I am struck with such reverential Respect, such awful Veneration, that I can scarcely give Utterance to my Thoughts in this august Assembly. But when I reflect upon the Insults offered to your Dignity, the Contempt shewn to your Authority, that Reverence, that Veneration hath a contrary Effect upon my Mind: Zeal for your Rights, Zeal for the Interest of my Country, inflames my Breast, and drives from thence every selfish Consideration: I am impatient to vindicate your Honour, and eager to violate that Silence, Prudence would always direct me to observe.

When I read the printed Votes, by which you were informed of the Transaction that gave Rise to the important Business of this Day; I read them with Concern, with Astonishment, with Indignation. I endeavoured to discover, what could have occasioned this Neglect from his Majesty, this Affront from his Administration. I thoroughly examined the late Conduct of the Majority of your Lordships, and found nothing that could incur the Displeasure of those in Power. Whatever Measure they have condescended to communicate to your Lordships, hath always obtained your Approbation; and, in regard to publick OEconomy, to which the Message taken notice of is chiefly relative, tho' it is far from my Intention to flatter you, I must say, you have never shewn a Disposition so niggardly, as to oppose a single Scheme of Ministerial Generosity.

On the contrary, my Lords, you have given indisputable Proofs of your Contempt for sordid national Frugality: You have behaved as if you were persuaded, the Kingdom abounded as much in Wealth, as the Heads of those, who have, in some former Times, had the Management of Affairs, were fertile in Projects to squander and consume it: Nor do you entertain such a Belief without substantial Cause; for it would be absurd to imagine, 200,000 *l.* could be annually distributed among a Part of your Lordships, by a Nation which doth not enjoy the utmost Affluence. But Merit in every Way deserves a suitable Reward; and tho' a Hundred lucrative Employments are possess'd by Members of this august Assembly, the Duty expected from them is so exactly observed, that the greatest Part is enjoyed with unenvied Reputation.

The Commons have gone great Lengths in excluding your Lordships from any Authority to alter Money Bills, though no Aid can be granted, no Taxes imposed, without your Consent. They are very expert in explaining, and assiduous in contriving Precedents to support this unreasonable Infringement of your Privileges; and, in this Point, every Relaxation of your own, is a Confirmation of their Power. But, my Lords, what you have
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hitherto scorned verbally to admit, I hope you will disdain virtually to allow. The whole Nation is concerned in your supporting your constitutional Rights; for tho' some short-sighted Politicians may imagine, by lessening you, the Commons will be aggrandized, in Fact it will be found, that every Attempt to render you insignificant, will be a Step towards making the Crown absolute.

The other House hath been under the Controul of one of its own Members: May it never again be in the like abject State! But should that vile, detestable, seductive Art, Corruption, ever insinuate itself into that Assembly, the Effects may be as fatal, tho' the Means more contemptible, than the Hypocrisy, Sagacity and Intrepidity of *Cromwell*. If a Majority in that House, instead of being really the Representatives of the Nation, should be elected by not more than 50,000, out of ten Million of People, and those 50,000, the Dregs of the Populace: If a Minister, by the Assistance of a venal Crew, the direct Representatives of their infamous Constituents, should be secure of carrying every Point, according to his own Inclination: If by them he shall be able to frustrate every Inquiry into publick Measures: If any Motion to prevent a mercenary Contagion from extending its baneful Influence over those intrusted with the Liberties of their Country, shall be insolently rejected: If a Law in the Statute Books for that salutary Purpose, shall be notoriously violated, and explained contrary both to the Spirit and Letter of such a Law; what will be the Fate of this unhappy Nation, if your Lordships are not then in a Condition to protect your Country?

I beg Pardon for having trespassed so long upon your Lordships Time. The Motion is so moderate, — a mere Assertion of indubitable Rights, — that, I think, no Method of evading it ought to be used. Indeed, if Strength of Argument, enlivened by all the Force of Eloquence, and Truth delivered with Dignity, because dictated by a Heart whose predominant Passion is the publick Welfare, can have any Weight here, the Fate of the noble Lord's Motion may be safely rested upon what he hath so fully, so honestly urged in Support of it.

[*This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.*]

Aulus Gabinius, in the Character of *Philip Cybbons*. E^q;

Cn. Fulvius, in the Character of *Henry Fox*. E^q;

Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, in the Character of *Joseph Danvers*. E^q;

M. Horatius Barbatus, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Halifax*.

L. Dronius, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Lord *Delawar*. (See p. 330.)

The DANGER of Mercenary Parliaments. Written in the Reign of King WILLIAM.

SEVERAL Treatises have been formerly written, and more (I doubt not) will be in this Juncture publish'd, with Directions and Informations to the People of England for chusing fit and proper Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, wherein sufficient Notice will be taken of the Failures and Defects of several, who have already been intrusted in that Service, and the due Qualifications of such, who are now to be elected. I shall therefore confine my present Thoughts only to one particular Head, which yet, in my Opinion, seems to involve in it the inevitable Fate of England, which wholly depends upon the Choice of Members for the next Session of Parliament: I mean the chusing or refusing of such Persons, who are now possess'd of any Places and Preferments, depending upon the Gift and Pleasure of the Court. If herein my Endeavours prove unsuccessful, I shall have nothing left but the Satisfaction of my own Conscience, to support me under the deplorable Consequents and Effects, which must necessarily attend the Choice of a House of Commons fill'd with Officers and Court-Pensioners. This is the last Struggle and Effort the People of England have left them for their Properties; and should we now miscarry in this, we may sit down, and idly shew our Affections for our Country, and fruitlessly bewail the Loss of our Liberties, but shall never meet with another Opportunity of exerting ourselves in its Service. That I may, therefore, set the Minds of People right in this Particular, ere it be too late, I think it will be only necessary to shew the Danger of chusing Members that are in Places, from two Considerations: *First*, From the Nature of such a Parliament consider'd in itself: And, *secondly*, from what has already been done by Parliaments so qualified. In both which I shall be very brief, and content myself with much fewer Arguments than might be urg'd upon this Subject: For I should almost despair of being surviv'd by the Liberties of England, if I could imagine there was a Necessity of saying much in a Case not only of such irresistible Evidence and Demonstration, but also of the utmost Concern and Importance to us.

First then, we shall best be able to understand the Nature of such an ill-chosen Parliament, by comparing it with a true one, and with the original Design of Parliaments in their Institution. I hope it need not be told, that they were at first intended for a Support to the King's just Prerogative, and a Protection to the Subjects in their as just Rights and Privileges: For maintaining all

due Honour to the executive Power, and all suitable Respect and Encouragement to those, who are intrusted with the Administration of the Laws: For a Poise and Balance between the two extreme contending Powers of absolute Monarchy and Anarchy: For a Check and Curb to insolent and licentious Ministers, and a Terror to ambitious and over-grown Statesmen: For giving their Advice to his Majesty in all Matters of Importance: For making necessary Laws to preserve or improve our Constitution, and abrogating such as were found burdensome and obsolete: For giving the King Money for defraying the Charges and Expences of the Government, or maintaining a necessary War against foreign and domestick Enemies: For examining and inspecting the public Accounts, to know if their Money be applied to its true Use and Purposes: In short, for the best Security imaginable to his Majesty's Honour and Royal Dignities, and the Subjects Liberties, Estates, and Lives.

This being the Nature and true Design of a Parliament, let us now see whether a House of Commons, full of *Officers* and *Court-Pensioners*, will answer those noble and laudable Ends of their Constitution. And here, indeed, I begin already to be ashamed of my Undertaking; the Proof of the Negative is so ridiculous, that it looks too much like a jest, to ask one in his Wits, whether a Parliament, fill'd with Delinquents, will ever call themselves to an Account, or what Account would be given, if they should? Whether an Assembly of public Robbers will sentence one another to be punish'd, or to make Restitution? Whether it is possible our Grievances can be redress'd, that are committed by Persons from whom there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Justice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majesty can be rightly inform'd in Affairs relating to himself or the Public, when they are represented to him only by such Persons, who design to abuse him? Whether the public Accounts will be faithfully inspected by those, who embezzle our Money to their own Use? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintain'd by such, who only pervert it to their own sinister Ends and Purposes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or, lastly, whether a House of Commons can vote freely, who are either prepossess'd with the Hopes and Promises of enjoying Places, or the slavish Fears of losing them? Methinks, it is offering too much Violence to human Nature to ask such Questions as these; I shall therefore leave this invidious Point.

Yet lest still any should remain unsatisfy'd, or lull'd into a fond Opinion, that these Mischiefs will not ensue upon the Elections they

shall make, I shall further endeavour to convince those, who are most mov'd by the Force of Examples, by coming to my second Particular, and shewing how Parliaments so qualify'd have all along behav'd themselves. And here I must confess, there are not many Instances to be given, the Project of corrupting Parliaments being but of a late Date, a Practice first set on Foot within the Compass of our own Memories, by K. Charles II. who finding, by his Father's Example, all the Methods of Force ineffectual for battering down the Bulwarks of our excellent Constitution, had Recourse at last to those mean Arts, and underhand Practices, of bribing and corrupting with Money those, who were intrusted with the Conservation of our Laws, and the Guardianship of our Liberties. And herein he so well succeeded, that the Mischiefs and Calamities, occasion'd by that mercenary Parliament, did not terminate with his Life and Reign; but the Effects of them are handed and continued down, and very sensibly felt by the Nation to this very Hour. For it is to that House of Commons the formidable Greatness of France was owing, and to their Account, therefore, ought we to set down the prodigious Expences of the late War: It was by those infamous Members, that Money was given to make a *feign'd* and *collusive* War with France, which, at the same Time, was employ'd either in subduing the Subjects at home, or oppressing our Protestant Neighbours abroad: It was this venal Parliament in Effect, that furnish'd the King of France with Timber and skilful Workmen for building Ships, as well as expert Mariners, and a prodigious Quantity of Brass and Iron Cannon, Mortar-Pieces, and Bullets from the Tower; by the Help of which our own treacherous King was able to boast publicly, and thank God, that he had at last made his Brother of France a Seaman: By this Means the Honour of England was prostituted, and our natural and naval Strength betray'd, with which, like *Sampson*, we should easily have broken all the Cords that Europe, or the whole World could have made to bind and enslave us, had not this Parliament made a Sacrifice of all to the Charms of a *French Dalilah*. To this profligate Reign, we are to ascribe the Loss of all the considerable Charters of England, the Deaths of our best Patriots, the Encouragement and almost Establishment of *Popery*, the Decay of Trade, the Growth of arbitrary Power, the ill Effects of dishonourable Leagues, the Shutting up of the Exchequer, the Progress of all Sorts of Debauchery, the servile Compliances at Court of a rampant Hierarchy in the Kingdom, the insolent Deportment of the inferior Clergy, both in the Universities and elsewhere, their slavish Doctrine of *passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*; in short, a general Depravation of Manners, and

and almost utter Extirpation of Virtue and moral Honesty. These and all the other Mischiefs of that Reign are justly chargeable to the Account of that *pension'd* Parliament, who either were the immediate Authors, or the undoubted Cauſers of them; who, tho' they sat long and often, and could not be ignorant of our deplorable Condition, yet, having their Eyes blinded with the *Dust of Gold*, and their Tongues lock'd up with *Silver Keys*, they durst not cry out for the Rescue of their Country, thus inhumanly ravish'd in their very Presence. It will not consist with my design'd Brevity, nor is it here necessary, to give the Reasons that induc'd the Court to dissolve that Parliament; nor shall I take any further Notice of their great and fortunate Oversight in doing it, nor of their unfeigned Repentance afterwards for it: I shall only observe, that if the Nation had been so senselessly stupid to have chosen the same Members a second Time, who were Pensioners in the foregoing Parliament, we had long ago suffer'd the dismal Consequences of our Folly and Madness in such a Choice; nor should we now have had this Liberty to warn one another against splitting upon the like Rocks, and falling into the same Precipices. But they were wiser in those Times, and the Consideration of the dreadful Shipwrack they had so lately escaped, made them chuse Pilots of a quite contrary Disposition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to sit at the Helm, repair'd the shatter'd Vessel of the Commonwealth, restor'd its Honour, reviv'd its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws, Countenance to its Religion, and, in a great Measure, reduc'd our banish'd Liberties, and expos'd the Persons who sold them to the universal Hatred and Reproach of their Fellow-Subjects; a Punishment indeed infinitely less than they deserv'd, for the highest Crime a Member of Parliament is capable of committing.

As for King *James's* Reign, tho' it was notoriously guilty of the Breach and Violation of most of our fundamental Laws, which sufficiently justifies our Carriage towards him, yet cannot we say, that his Mismanagement is to be ascrib'd to the Corruption of any Parliament sitting in his Time. It is true, indeed, he reap'd too much Advantage from the Conduct of the *brib'd* Parliament in his Brother's Reign, and us'd all possible Endeavours to procure such another for himself, well knowing it to be the most effectual Means for carrying on his ruinous and destructive Projects; yet either from the unshaken Constancy of the People, or Want of Dexterity in his Ministers, he was altogether defeated in his Expectation.

This miserable Disappointment of King *James's* Hopes made Way for our late glorious Revolution, which was brought about by

the hearty Endeavours, and accompanied with the most unfeigned Vows and Wishes of all true Lovers of their Country, who from hence expected a full Deliverance from their present Miseries, and a sure Remedy from their future Fears: For what Happiness might not the People well hope for under the Government of the best of Kings, supported by the best of Titles, viz. the general Consent and Election of his People? We were fill'd with golden Dreams not only of a bare Security for our Estates and Lives, but an inexhausted Affluence of all Manner of Blessings a Nation is capable of enjoying. But tho' we have *dreamt the Dreams*, yet have we not *seen the Visions*. And tho' the Nation is by this Time sadly sensible how wretchedly they have fallen short of their expected Happiness, yet are they not all acquainted with the true Spring and Fountain from whence all their Misfortunes flow, which is, indeed, no other than that bare-fac'd and openly-avow'd Corruption, which, like a universal Leprosy, has so notoriously infected and overspread both our Court and Parliament. It is from hence are plainly deriv'd all the Calamities and Distractions under which the whole Nation at present groans: It is this that has chang'd the very Natures of *Englishmen*, and of Valiant made them Cowards, of Eloquent Dumb, and of honest Men Villains: It is this can make a whole House of Commons eat their own Words, and countervote what they had just before resolv'd on: It is this could summon the mercenary Members from all Quarters of the Town in an Instant, to vote their Fellow-Criminals innocent: It is this that can make a Parliament throw away the People's Money with the utmost Profusion, without enquiring into the Management of it: It is this that put a Stop to the Examination of that scandalous Escape of the *Thoulon* Fleet into *Brest*: It is this that has encourag'd the Mismanagements of the Admiralty in Relation to the Loss of so vast a Number of Men of War and Merchant-Ships, as well as other Miscarriages, which were by all Men judg'd to proceed not from their Want of Understanding in Sea-Affairs: It is this that has hindered the passing a Bill so often brought into the House, for *incapacitating Members to bear Offices*: It is this that could not only indemnify, but honour a leading Member, for his audacious procuring and accepting a Grant of Lands, which by the Parliament had been set apart for the public Service; a Vote that shall stand recorded in their own Journals, to the never-dying Infamy of that mercenary Assembly: It is this could make the same Person most confidently affirm, that he was sure the Majority of the House would agree to what he was going to propose: It is this that could make Men of peaceable Dispositions, and considerable Estates, vote for a standing

Standing Army: It is that could bring Admirals to confess, that our Fleet under their Command was no Security to us: It is this could make wise Men act against their own apparent Interest: In short, it is this that has insinuated our Prudence, staggered our Constancy, sullied our Reputation, and introduced a total Defection from all true *English* Principles. Bribery is, indeed, so sure and unavoidable a Way to destroy any Nation, that we may all sit down and wonder, that so much as the very Name of a free Government is yet continued to us. And if by our wary Choice of Members we should happen to recover our ancient Constitution, we shall with Horror and Amazement look back, and reflect upon the dreadful Precipice we so narrowly escaped.

Fatal Experience has now more than enough convinc'd us, that Courts have been the same in all Ages, and that few Persons have been found of such approv'd Constancy and Resolution as to withstand the powerful Allurements and Temptations which, from thence, have been continually dispens'd for the corrupting of Mens Minds, and debauching their honest Principles. Such Instances of the Frailty of human Nature, may be given, within these few Years past, as might make a Man even ashamed of his own Species, and which (were they not so open and notorious) ought, out of Pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in? To see Persons who were formerly noted for the most vigorous Asserters of their Country's Liberty, who, from their Infancy, had imbib'd no other Notions than what conduc'd to the public Safety, whose Principles were further improv'd and confirm'd by the Advantages of a suitable Conversation, and who were so far possess'd with this Spirit of Liberty, that it sometimes transported them beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Excesses: To see these Men, I say, so infamously fall in with the arbitrary Measures of the Court, and appear the most active Instruments for enslaving their Country, and that without any formal Steps or Degrees, but all in an Instant, is so violent and surprizing a Transition from one Extream to another without passing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of *Euclid* or *Pyrrho*. All the stated Maxims, in Relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago settled and establish'd by Philosophers and observing Men, are now baffled and exploded; and we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of romantick Fables, the sudden Conveyances of nimble-finger'd Jugglers, the inimitable Dispatches of transubstantiating Priests, or the now more credible Metamorphoses of Men into Beasts.

The Necessity we have lain under of fre-

quent Meetings of Parliament during the War, has taught our Managers so much Dexterity and Address in their Applications to the Members of that Assembly, that they are now become consummate Masters in that most detestable Art of corrupting our Representatives, by Hopes and Fears, of attaining or losing Offices and Preferments. And tho' I here name Offices, yet those Offices are downright Bribes and Pensions, since they are held precariously from the Court, and constantly taken away upon Non-compliance with the Court Measures; tho' I am not ignorant that several considerable Pensions were also paid out of the Exchequer to Members of both Houses: For Places could not be had for all, tho' they have tried all imaginable Arts for dividing amongst themselves the considerable Posts in the Kingdom: For, either by splitting of Offices amongst several Persons, which were formerly executed by one, or by reviving such as were sunk, or by creating others which were altogether useless and unnecessary, or by Promises of Preferment to those who could not presently be provided for, they had made above 200 Members absolutely dependent upon them. And what Points might not such a Number carry in the House, who were always ready and constantly attending with more Diligence to destroy our Constitution, than the rest were to preserve it? Who represented not their Country but themselves, and always kept together in a close and undivided *Phalanx*, impenetrable either by Shame or Honour, voting always the same Way, and saying always the same Things, as if they were no longer voluntary Agents, but so many Engines merely turn'd about by a mechanic Motion, like an Organ, where the great humming Bases, as well as the little squeaking Trebles, are fill'd but with one Blast of Wind from the same Sound-board? Yet a few of them may, in some Measure, be distinguish'd from those *point-blank* Voters, whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valu'd Interest, nor the Persuasion of their once intimate Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation could ever prevail upon to join in an honest Point, or dissent from a Question that carried in it the Violation of the Rights and Properties of the Subject. These are the Men who have persuaded his Majesty, or rather assum'd to themselves, not to fill up any vacant Offices, whilst the Parliament is sitting; but to keep all Pretenders in a Dependence till the End of the Session, and bind them up to their *ill* Behaviour, which will then be their best Pretence to demand their Wages of Unrighteousness: Witness the Commission of Excise the last Session, which was sued for by, and promis'd to, above 30 Competitors, who all did their utmost to signalize their several Merits for an Office, which doubtless will be at last divided amongst those

those who have deserv'd *worst* of their Country. By these Means, they made their Numbers and Interest in the House so great, that no Miscarriage in the Government could ever be redress'd, nor the meanest Tool belonging to them be punish'd: Some of which they did indeed take into their own Hands, which rais'd in the People, a high Expectation that some extraordinary Penalties would be inflicted upon them; when their Design, at the same Time, was nothing else but to *protect* and *screen* them from the ordinary Course of Justice: Such is now the Difference in Point of Corruption between a common Jury and the Grand Jury of the Nation! Such a mutual Affluence and Support have they been to one another, in the several Mismanagements of their Trusts: So favourable have they been to their own Creatures, and so implacable to those who have any way oppos'd their unjust Proceedings; witness their scandalous Partiality in the Case of *Duncomb*, which I hope to see printed at large, for the Satisfaction of the Publick. If it were truly represented, I am sure, there needs nothing more to excite in the People an universal Detestation of their Arrogance and Injustice. And yet do these Apostates pretend to value themselves upon their Merit, in contriving that most destructive Project of Exchequer Bills, by which all impartial Men must either think they notoriously dissemble with us, or that they have indeed lost their Senses, when they speak of publick Service; the Word is so unbecoming in their Mouths, and so awkwardly pronounc'd, that they seem not to breathe in their own Element when they usurp the Name. These are the Men who have endeavour'd to render our Condition hopeless, even beyond the Power of the King himself to relieve us: For tho' his Majesty be deservedly lov'd and honour'd by his People, for his Readiness to do them Justice, and ease their Oppressions, yet can we not expect it from him whilst he is thus beset and surrounded, and his Palaces invested by these Conspirators against his own Honour and the Welfare of his Kingdoms. The only Remedy therefore that remains is, to chuse such a Parliament who lie under no Temptations, and are act'd by no other Motives but the real and true Interest of his Majesty and his Dominions; a Parliament that will fall unanimously upon publick Business, and be free from those petty Factions and personal Piques, which in the late Session so shamefully obstructed and delay'd the most important Service of the Commonwealth.

If it should be pretended, that the Nation is yet unsettled, and the Fear of King *James* has forc'd them upon these extraordinary Methods for their own Preservation; I answer, that no Cause whatsoever can be justly alledg'd in Vindication of such vile Arts and pernicious Practices. But I would farther ask

them, what Necessity there is upon that Account for their gaining such prodigious Estates to themselves in so short a Time, and in so merciless a Way, when the Nation was rack'd to the utmost by Taxes in a long and expensive War? Is it the Fear of King *James* that has brought such a Reproach upon our Revolution, as if it needed to be supported by such mean and unjustifiable Practices? Is it the Fear of King *James* that makes us content he should live so near us, or that he should be maintain'd at our own Charge of 50,000*l.* per Annum? Or has not rather King *James* been made the Pretence for the unwarrantable Proceedings of our Conspirators during the War, and since the Conclusion of the Peace?

It is very strange that King *James*, who is but their Jest in private, should be thus made their publick Bugbear to frighten us out of our Senses like Children; so that King *James* must be at last our Ruin abroad, who could not compass it by all his Power and Interest at home. And in this Sense I am of their Opinion, that we are not yet quite delivered from the Fear of King *James*, who must be made the Instrument of our Slavery by those very Persons, who pretend their greatest Merit to consist in delivering us from him. But what is this but making the old abdicated King a Foot-stool to ascend the Throne of absolute Power, and a Scaffold for erecting that proud and stately Edifice, from whence we have so justly tumbled him down headlong? But 'tis to be hop'd the Nation will be no longer impos'd on by such stale Pretences as these, and that a well-chosen Parliament will not fail to pass their severest Censures upon those, who would thus jest us out of all that is dear and valuable amongst us: That they will no longer resemble a Flock of Sheep (as *Cato* said of the *Romans* in his Time) that follow the Bell-weather, and are contented, when all together, to be led by the Noses by such, whose Counsels not a Man of them would make use of in a private Cause of his own: That they will at last vindicate the Honour of *England*, and imitate their wise Ancestors in hunting down these Beasts of Prey, these noxious Vermin to the Commonwealth, rather than suffer themselves to be led in Collars and Couples by one mighty *Nimrod*, who, upon the turning up of his Nose, shall expect a full Cry of sequacious Animals, who must either join Voices, or be turn'd out of the Pack.

Notwithstanding what I have said, I would not have any of them either really imagine themselves, or falsely suggest to others, that I envy them their Places and Preferments, which I am so far from doing, that I wish they rather had them for the Term of their Lives; I desire only they may be subject to the Laws, and to some Power on Earth that may call them to Account for their Misbehaviours, that they may not be their own Judges,

Judges, that our sovereign Remedy may not prove our chief Disease, and that the Kid may be seeth'd in something else than its Mother's Milk. Nor would I, by any Means, deny them their Seats in Parliament, provided they are in a Condition to speak and act freely, and discharg'd from those Temptations which, I find, they have not Constancy enough to withstand; for after all, I still believe many of them so honest, that nothing but Money or Preferments will corrupt them. But if nothing will satisfy them but the downright Subversion of our Constitution; if they will be content with nothing but the utter Abolishing of all Laws, and the Rooting up of those Fences and Securities provided by our Ancestors, for the Preservation of all Things that are sacred and esteem'd amongst Mankind; it is high Time for the Electors to look about them, and disappoint their unreasonable and exorbitant Hopes, and to spew them out as detestable Members of the Commonwealth; not only as unfit to be trusted with their Liberties, but as unworthy to breathe in the Air of a free Government.

If any should say, that the Alterations in Elections will stand us in no Stead, since whoever are chosen will still be bought off and brib'd by Court Preferments; I answer, it will require a considerable Time to new-model and debauch a House of Commons, nor can it be done, but by displacing all those who are already possess'd, to make Room for these new Comers; which will make the Trade and Mystery of Bribery more plain, and consequently more abhorred. And since no Parliament can now sit above three Years, the Court will meet with fresh Difficulties to interrupt them, which may possibly at last make them weary of these Practices. 'Tis true, indeed, this Consideration ought to make us more circumspect in our Choice of Members, for tho' we should chuse but an inconsiderable Number of Pensioners, yet will they soon be able to work over a Majority to their Side: So true is the Saying, *A little Leaven leavens the whole Lump*. Whoever therefore, out of any particular Friendship, or other Motives of Fear or private Interest, should vote for any one Person so qualify'd; let him consider, that as much as in him lies, he makes a Compliment of all the Liberties of England, to the insatiable Avarice and Ambition of Statesmen and Court Ministers. Since, therefore, we have so narrowly escap'd our Destruction, and one Session more of the last Parliament would infallibly have ruin'd our Constitution, we cannot surely be so grossly over-seen as to neglect the Opportunity now put into our Hands, for avoiding the like Hazards in Time to come; which may easily be done, if the Freeholders and Burghers in England, will petition and engage their Representatives to consent to a Bill which shall be brought into

the House, to incapacitate all Members for holding Offices and Preferments: Or if it should be thought too much to debar them altogether from the Enjoyment of Posts of Honour and Advantage, let them keep them during good Behaviour, and not otherwise; that such Places may not be reserv'd in Store for those who shall be from Time to Time elected, and thereby a continued Course of Corruption be carry'd on successively thro' the whole Nation, who will, in a few Years, insensibly find themselves so universally infected with this insinuating Vice, that we shall be thoroughly ripe for Destruction, and readily expose to Sale, the Liberties of England, by Auction, to the fairest Bidder. If it was deservedly thought one of our most dangerous Grievances, that the Judges, who only declare the Law, should hold their Places *ad beneplacitum*; what Condition must we be in, when our Law-makers themselves are subjected to the same Temptations? Or what Advantage have we got by having our Judges Commissions for Life, when our very Legislature itself is prostituted to Bribery and sordid Gain? The Fortune of England is now brought to the nicest Point, and there are critical Seasons, which, if neglected, will never again be offer'd; and should we now fail in our Duty to our Country, we shall assuredly fall unpitied by the rest of the World. But if on the other hand we can, by our Foresight and Diligence, prevent for the future the Bribing and Corruption of Parliaments, it is not to be imagin'd what Security, what Happiness, and what immortal Reputation will be the never-ceasing Concomitants of such a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midst of domestick Discontents, and beset on all Sides with foreign Assaults and Invasions, were able by that one *self-denying Act* to maintain the publick Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulsions at home, and violent Concussions from abroad; if that small and broken Number, without any Head, and under so many Disadvantages, could by this only Means secure our Peace, and so widely extend the Repute and Honour of the English Name; what Country or what Region could ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a full and legal Parliament, so nobly qualify'd? What Nation could there be so powerful as to resist our Forces, or so politick as to insatuate our Counsels? There is nothing within the Compass of human Wishes that we might not assure ourselves, from the Wisdom and Virtue of such a disinterested Assembly, headed and encourag'd by the most auspicious Prince that ever yet sway'd the English Scepter: A Prince who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingness to be happy, and is fir'd with a longing Eagerness to see the Nation deserve the

the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhausted Beneficence; who only wishes a happy Conjunction of a free and unbiass'd Parliament, that he might join with them in the Rescue of himself and us from the Oppression of those devouring Harpies, who would tear off the yet green and flourishing Laurels from his majestick Brows, and ungratefully cast a Tarnish upon the Lustre of his bright and shining Atchievements: That he might dissipate those inauspicious Vapours, which have hindered him from breaking out in the Height of his meridian Glories, and intercepted his benign and noble Influence upon his inferior and dependant Orbs: That he might deliver up to Justice those traitorous and insinuating Parasites, who endeavour to inspire into his sacred Breast an unworthy Jealousy of his People, as if he wanted the Assistance of a *standing Army* to secure and establish to himself that Throne, which he has already so firmly erected in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects: And lastly, that he might wholly discharge himself of those wretched and perfidious Statesmen, who endeavour to fix the Brand of their own acquir'd Infamy upon their Master, that they may make him as hateful to one Party for their Vices, as he is already to another for his own Virtues, and deprive him of the glorious Title of the World's greatest Benefactor, which he has so justly purchas'd to himself by his immortal Performances.

I shall conclude with one Word, in Answer to such who may possibly think I have reflected too much upon the Supineness and base Neglect of the People of *England*; as if it were possible they could be such monstrous and unnatural Self-murderers, as to give away, with their own Breath, and free Consent, all their Rights to their Estates and Lives. I confess I should be glad to find my Labour lost upon this Account: But I desire such to consider, that there are many honest and well-meaning *Englishmen*, who do not distinguish between our present Government, and our present Way of Governing; whose Distance from the Parliament, Multiplicity of Business, or other Circumstances in the World, render them less able to penetrate the Designs that are now carrying on, for the total Subversion of our most excellent Constitution. And it is plain, on the other hand, that the great and unwearied Diligence of the present Conspirators against our Government, in order to support their future Elections, does infer their Thoughts, that the Majority of the Electors are capable of being impos'd upon in this gross and unexampled Manner. Since, therefore, those who are making us Slaves, think it no great Difficulty to effect their Purposes, I see no Reason, why I ought to be so tender, as to forbear expressing my Fears and Apprehensions of their Success.

Common Sense, Sept. 6. N^o 187.

This Paper is a Sequel of that of Aug. 23. concerning the ministerial Writers attempting to draw a Parallel between Cecil and their Patron. (See p. 395.)

A THE Lineaments of Cecil are a little too delicate for our Mercenaries clumsy Pencils; however, to shew that I am in some Charity with them, I shall help them out a little.

It is a strong Presumption of the Uprightness of Cecil's Measures, as well as the Integrity of his Intentions, that he did not besiege his Sovereign in her Palace; every Body had Access to her; she was at Liberty to receive Information of her Affairs, as well as of the Conduct of her Ministers, from other Hands besides their own.

A particular Instance how easy Access was to her, is mention'd by the Historians in the Case of one *Caermardon*, a sensible ordinary Man, by whose Advice she improv'd that Branch of her Revenue, which was under the Management of Sir *Thomas Smith*, double to what it had been before, without vexing the Subject in the Method of Collection.

Some of the silly Fellows about the Court wonder'd, that she would listen to such an obscure Man, in an Affair that seem'd to bear hard upon the Character of Sir *Thomas Smith*. To which she answer'd, That those that accuse the Counsellors of Kings, without being able to prove any Thing against them, ought to be censured; but those that accused them justly, ought to be encouraged and rewarded above all other Men.

Why did not these Writers think fit to take Notice of Cecil's Popularity, which was not owing to any Arts, but was the natural Consequence of that Happiness, which the Nation enjoy'd by the publick Councils, in which he was known to have a Share?

To conceive a just Idea of the Wisdom of this Administration, the great Difficulties with which they were to struggle ought to be considered. They were to reconcile the Nation to the Establishment of the reform'd Religion, which, considering the strong Impressions made by Education, must be no easy Work. They were to reconcile them likewise to the Queen's Title, which those who were discontented on the Account of Religion, might make a Handle of, for raising Troubles, she having been illegitimated by Act of Parliament. *Scotland*, a constant Thorn in our Side, was not then united to *England*, and to be fear'd as an Enemy; add to this, a formidable Rebellion in *Ireland*: Besides which, it was necessary to assist *Harry IV. of France* against the League, in order to maintain the Balance against *Spain*, at that Time

Time the most formidable Power in *Europe*; and for the same Reason to succour the *United Provinces*. So that our Historians have very good Authority for saying, that all the rest of *Europe* was astonish'd how *Q. Elizabeth's* Ministers could do so many great Things with so small a Revenue, and so few Taxes, considering, that in our own Quarrels they defended us without foreign Assistance, and keeping the Nation clear from all Debt, left no Taxes upon Posterity.

Whoever takes a View of those Times, may easily account for *Cecil's* Popularity: The great Figure this Nation made was owing to the Wisdom of those Counsels, in which he had a Share. But not only the Good he did, but the Evil he forbore, deserves some Notice.

Cecil was call'd to publick Business by the deliberate Choice of his Mistress, upon the Reputation he had gain'd for Wisdom, and Integrity. He did not purchase his Preferment at the Expence of his Honour, nor did he introduce himself by an infamous Bargain for screening a Gang of publick Robbers. His Crimes did not drive him to a Necessity, nor did it suit his Inclination to support himself by the Destruction of all publick Spirit, and a Scheme of universal Corruption.

He open'd no Shop for negotiating Bribes, nor were Jobbs divided into Shares, like Lottery Tickets in our Days.

The brave Men who had serv'd the Country, at the Hazard of their Lives, either by Land or Sea, were justly paid all that the Nation allow'd them; there were no Tricks to sink their Debentures, in order to buy them up to enrich any of the Ministers or their Tools. I am satisfied, such a Fraud would have been punished with Death.

He did not endeavour to perpetuate Debts upon the Nation, to maintain a Swarm of Drones, call'd Placemen, in Luxury; the Nation saw what they gave, applied to their Defence, not in protecting a Criminal in Power against them.

We don't find that he ever treated the Citizens of *London* with Insolence, or even with Disrespect; for he had Sense enough to know of what Consequence they were for the Support of the Crown: He never abused them himself, or hired others to abuse them.

He did not advise his Mistress to place her Security either in a standing Army, or in an immense Revenue; he was for fixing it in its natural Situation, the Affections of the People.

He found the Nation poor, and embarrassed with Difficulties; he left it rich, and at Ease: And the Historian has closed his Character with these Words—*He lived long enough for Nature, long enough for his own Glory, not long enough for his Country.*

I cannot imagine what our Mercenaries had

in their wise Heads, by endeavouring to draw the Eyes of the Publick upon the Character of *Cecil*. Do they fancy it will fit their Friend? No, he is beyond Comparison.

None but himself can be his Parallel.

Since they have begun, let them go on with the Farce; let them give us the Picture of *St. Paul*, and try to persuade us that it is *Whitefield*; or let them compare little *C—bb—r* with *Alexander the Great*.

Craftsman, Aug. 30, and Sept. 6.

These Papers give the remaining Part of the ADDRESS to the Farmers and Freeholders of England, (see p. 394.) But, as much the same Things have been said in the Course of this and former Magazines, particularly in our Magazine for July last, p. 330, &c. we shall content ourselves with a few Extracts, as follows.

NOTHING is more evident, than that every Fraud committed in negotiating the publick Money must increase the publick Expence; and I think it reasonable, that the Affairs of the Publick should be examined with the same Sharpness, as People manage their private Affairs, that all the Encroachments might be stopt in their Infancy, before evil Practice had made any Frauds look'd upon as the justifiable Perquisites of Office; for who will serve his Country without high Wages, or sell his Goods for a reasonable Profit, if he can be kept out of his Money, till he is starved into a Necessity of selling his Security at 20 or 30 per Cent. Discount, as often hath been the Case in Navy Bills and Debentures, which, it is said, have been bought up clandestinely by Placemen of Interest, whose Influence, as soon as they and their Friends were served, hath been sufficient to get them immediately paid off? These Dealings are call'd by the modest Name of Jobbs.

Will any Man sell Timber or Cattle, as cheap to the Publick, as to private Persons, if they are to perquisite the open Fists of half a Dozen Purveyors; or, if the Cloathing of a Regiment is to be perquisited out by a Colonel for 1000 or 1500 l. must not the poor Soldier suffer, and be forced upon needy Practices, or have his Pay increased?

These, and such like Practices, have been at various Times imputed to Placemen; but whether the present Set are guilty, is to me unknown.—The Suspicion of such Practices in some Men may probably arise from their expensive Way of living, or their immense Wealth, where either of these apparently exceed the known Salaries of their Places.—But a Detection of the particular Frauds can only be come at by the Power and Integrity of a Majority of the House of Commons.—And here

I shall only ask this plain Question; whether it is natural to suppose, that such Enquiries will be effectually made by *Placemen*?—If any of them should be contaminated with these Crimes, can we expect that the *Guilty* will reveal *their own Iniquities*? May we hope that *Colonels* and *Purveyors* will lessen the Perquisites of *Colonels* and *Purveyors*? Or is it common Prudence, or, in private Life, common Practice, that the *same Men* should be intrusted to raise Money, pay Money, and be at last accountable only to themselves?

Having shewn, from the Roman History, the dangerous Consequences of a corrupted Senate, he says, Should Corruption ever prevail in the British Senate, we must expect the same Fate. *Profluseness* would then take Place of *Oeconomy*, and voting for a Minister would be sooner rewarded than beating an Enemy. A total Degeneracy must ensue. *Effeminacy* would attend upon *Luxury*; and, like the Romans, from being the most powerful and daring People in the World, we should become the Scorn and Contempt of the most cowardly and impotent Nations. The British Flag would be no more dreaded by foreign States, than a Standard in the Middle of a Common; and our Fleet would become as little terrible, tho' hovering on the Coasts of an Enemy, as if it remain'd at Spithead.

I will now prove, by another Quotation from History, how necessary it may be, that *Placemen* should be liable to the Inspection of *Persons*, who have an Interest in detecting publick Frauds.

Sir William Monson tells us, in his naval Traacts, "That at the taking in of Victuals at Tilbury Hope, there appear'd a certain Proportion of Beef and Pork, sufficient with its Scent to have poison'd the whole Company; but by the Carefulness of the Quarter-Masters it was found unserviceable; yet, after it was refused by the said Officers of the Ship, and lay upon the Hatches unflow'd, some of the Officers of the Navy repair'd on Board, and by their Authority, and great Anger, forced it to be taken in for good Victuals.—My Observation, says Sir William, upon this Point is, that tho' the Officers of the Navy have nothing to do with the victualling Part, yet it is likely, that there is a Combination between one and the other, like to the Mayor of the Corporation, a Baker, who for that Year will favour the Brewer, in Hopes that the Brewer will the next Year do him the same good Turn, when he becomes Mayor."

I shall now, my Countrymen, speak a few Words to you concerning the Qualification-Act. As this Law now stands, I apprehend that if a Man, who hath not one Shilling a Year in Land, is return'd, without having his Qualification demanded within 14 Days after taking his Seat, he is safe from any farther Enquiry, during that Parliament.

I cannot take upon myself to say of any one Member of the House of Commons, that he is not duly qualify'd.—Besides, I profess to speak in general of Things past, or of Dangers, which may happen, and may be prevented. As to what hath been done, I appeal to yourselves, my worthy Friends, whether it hath not happen'd, within the Knowledge of most of you, that three or four younger Sons, or Brothers of great Families, have got into Boroughs, when in the Opinion of the World, if Tradesmen Debts, and all Incumbrances were discharged, the Family Estate would not be worth redeeming.—Is it not proper for your Enquiry, if such Things have ever happen'd within the Knowledge of any of you, how such Gentlemen have been able to make themselves welcome to Corporations; when, perhaps, within two Hours Ride, there have been twenty or thirty independent Country Gentlemen duly qualify'd, who never thought of Pensions, Places, or Commissions?

I shall now, with a few Queries, take my Leave of you.

1. Whether the true Interest of the Kingdom must not be the Interest of the Farmer, Manufacturer and Merchant?

2. Whether the Interest of the Country Gentlemen, and Freeholders, is not inseparable from the Interest of the Kingdom?

3. Whether heavy Taxes and Excises must not be very prejudicial to the Farmers, Manufacturers, Merchants, Country Gentlemen, and Freeholders?

4. Whether it may not be the Interest of Placemen and Officers, to have heavy Taxes, superfluous Places, and a great standing Army?

5. Whether there is not at least required as much Integrity, Wisdom and Oeconomy to the Management of publick Affairs, in War, as in Peace?

Common Sense, Sept. 13. N^o 188.

PUNCH turn'd Ministerial Writer.

To the AUTHOR of COMMON SENSE.

S I R,

I SEND thee this Letter to acquaint thee, that Punch is engaged to write in Defence of the Pearl of Statesmen and Flower of all Chivalry, the renown'd Knight of the Brazen Head; which is as much as to say, I am engaged to draw my Pen against thee and the whole World; those choice Spirits of the Age, the present Set of Placemen, excepted.

You are therefore to receive this Epistle as Punch's Memorial, or Punch's Manifesto, or, if you please, Punch's Declaration of War against Common Sense, and all his Adherents.

I own that you, and your seditious Colleague the Craftsman, have hitherto carried all before you: You have engaged the Attention

of the Grave, and have also had the Laugh on your Side long enough; —but it is all over with you, you may date your Ruin from this Minute; surrender your Pen, therefore, for *Punch* is entering the Lifts against you.

I don't mean, as if I intend to whip you thro' the Lungs; I am no Brother of the Blade, the Sword I wear is no better than a Dagger of Lath, and I deal in no Blows, but such as bruise; whenever, therefore, I meet with a Man that won't take a Beating from me, rather than push Things to Extremity, I always take a Beating from him; that's my Humour; so that I have kick'd one Half of the World, and the other Half hath kick'd me.

I shall leave it to my valiant Brother, *Ancient Pistol*, to manage the Controversy by the Point of the Sword, while I attack you with my Wit. Know then, that I intend to puzzle you with Quibbles, bamboozle you with Conundrums, and pun you out of your seven Senses.

Don't flatter yourself, that you will come off in the same triumphant Manner you used to do, when you were attack'd by those Sons of Dulness and of Sleep, the *Freemans* and the *Sidneys* of the Cause. No, Friend, you must now look to your Hits, for you are to defend yourself against no less a Man than facetious *Punch*, comick *Punch*, humorous *Punch*, and *Punch* the witty.—To let you into a Secret, I made it one of my Conditions, that I should not be obliged so much as to keep Company with those stupid Rogues the *Gazetteers*, lest their Dulness might infect me.

The great Man is right at last; he never did a wiser Thing in his Life, than when he gain'd over *Punch* to take his Part; for nothing can be a stronger Advantage to any Cause, than to have popular Men engaged in it; and it is well known, that every Body loves me: The Women love me for my Beauty, the Men for my Wit, and all the World for my good Humour. I may say, without Vanity, I am the most popular Man this Day living of our Party; I say, our Party, for I'd have you to know, that *Punch* is no Jesuit; take that, Friend; *Punch* is no Jacobite, and never will be, unless the Times should alter.

Since I have mention'd the Art of pleasing, I can't forbear speaking a Word or two of the Negotiator General, who, tho' my very good Friend, I must needs say, it would make a Dog smile to see him pretend to imitate me, and set up for a Wit upon my cast-off Jokes; not considering, that it is the Manner which accompanies all I say and do, that makes them so pleasing, and that the same Things must appear nauseous and silly in one who cannot give them the same *Agreement*,—there's *French* for you.

That I am a Politician, appears by this,

that like *Catiline*, I can accommodate myself to the Humour of my Company. When I'm among the Men of Wit and Pleasure of the Town, I can drink, sing, roar, break Windows, beat a Constable, or enter into any Frolick fit for a bright Fellow and a Rake; and if I happen to be put into the Stocks, I keep up my good Humour, and joke upon my own Misfortune to the great Diversion of the Spectators.

When I'm in Company with the Heads of our Party, I swear, lie, talk Bawdy, call Son of a Whore, and have bid them kiss my A— all round; with which sublime Strokes of Wit they were all so tickled, that it was agreed amongst them, after mature Consideration, that, as Affairs are now managed, I should make the best ministerial Writer they ever had to their Backs.—By the Bye, it is an impudent Calumny in you to give out, that the Knight hates Men of Parts, for I am going to prove, that he is very fond of me.

Know then, that of his own free Motion he sent a Gentleman to treat with me. At this Gentleman's first Approach, I confess, I took him for one of our Puppets; his Dress, his Looks, his Motions and his Voice all spoke the Puppet: But when he offer'd me the genteel Bribe, the splendid Bribe, the fashionable Bribe, I began to smother from whence he came.

To tell the Truth, such a Thing never was more wanted; for, by the Severity of the Weather our Theatre being deserted, our whole Company was just broke; not only our Cloaths and Scenes, but our very Properties were in Limbo; the Sun and Moon were sold out and out for Money to buy Coals; they were since hung up as Signs to two little drinking Booths upon the *Thames*;—Doctor *Faustus's* Devils were all frozen;—the Sea was pawn'd, and the Mistress of our Company took down the Clouds to cover her Bed.

As to me, I looked like some Caitiff whom the Mob had duck'd for a Pick-pocket; never since I was a Stick, was I so reduced. The Gentleman before named found me hanging upon a Peg behind the Scenes, in a very melancholly Posture; I had not one Joke in my Mouth: Tho' in Distress, yet I appear'd in a Kind of State, betwixt two *bona Robas*, for I had *Cleopatra* on one Side, and *Jane Shore* on the other, without a Petticoat to cover them; poor *Jenny* modestly turn'd her Face to the Wall, to hide her Beauties before; the *Egyptian Queen* was not quite so bashful, you might have seen all her tawny Affairs for nothing.

Such was the low Condition of our Company, when, like *Cincinnatus* call'd from the Plough, to defend a ruin'd State with his Sword, *Punch* was invited from his Peg to support a sinking M— with his Pen.

As I have lived in a long Intimacy with Frier Bacon and Frier Bungy, two profound Conjurers, there is no Danger but I shall make a better Figure in Politicks than any of my fellow Labourers; for you know, our President himself is no great Conjurer that Way; he pretends to no more than a little Skill in Sleight of Hand: So that if I should be employ'd abroad, you may expect other Kind of Conventions, than what have made such a Noise in *Europe* of late.

In the mean Time, my Friend, I would advise thee to take Care of thyself; there are Designs on Foot for ruining you and all the Opposition: Meddle no more with high Points above thy Comprehension,—say nothing against Bribes,—open not thy Lips against Robbery; these are State Affairs;—soon will I take thee down from thy Altitudes. Thou sayest it is the third Year of thy Reign; thy Reign is at an End, tho' thou dost not know it: *Punch* will depose thee, and step into thy vacant Throne.

Yours,

From *Punch's* Theatre, PUNCH, Senior.
the little Tennis-Court near
the Hay-market.

Weekly Miscellany, Sept. 20. N° 404.

*Of the Distinction between a Man of Honour
and a Person of Honour.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the Similitude of Sounds, and the seeming Affinity of Characters, these are so far from being convertible Terms, that they convey quite distinct Ideas, and are very often as different as Light from Darkness. The *Man of Honour* is an internal, the *Person of Honour* an external; the one a real, the other a fictitious Character. The Words *Person* and *Persona* are generally viewed in that Light. Nobody imagines that the *Dramatis Personæ* are real Characters, but borrowed Representations of Princes or Peasants, Heroes or Lovers, Harlequins or Philosophers. I am therefore never surpriz'd to see or hear such Things attempted, said, or done, by a *Person of Honour*, which a *Man of Honour* would blush to think of.

A *Person of Honour* may be a profane, irreligious Libertine; a penurious, proud, revengeful Coward; may insult his Inferiors, oppress his Tenants and Servants, debauch his Neighbours Wives or Daughters, defraud his Creditors, and prostitute his publick Faith for a Protection; may associate with Sots and Drunkards, Sharpers and Gamesters, in order to increase his Fortune: I say, it is not impossible, that a *Person of Honour* may be guilty of all these; but it is absolutely impossible for a *Man of Honour* to be guilty of either.

*Lucilius is a Man of Honour, tho' not —
Stuck o'er with Titles, nor bung round with
Strings.*

His Estate, honourably raised by his virtuous Ancestors, and improved by himself, is sufficient to support a handsome Figure, which he does with a decent Frugality; and to do a great deal of Good, which he does with Chearfulness, Generosity and Prudence. In all his Commerce with Mankind, in every Article of publick or private Life, he exerts a peculiar Dignity of Behaviour, such as naturally flows from a generous Heart, softened by Humanity, elevated by Religion, and directed by Prudence, conscious of none but virtuous Designs, and honourable Intentions. In him you see the sincere Christian, the loyal Subject, the firm Patriot, the indulgent Husband, the tender Father, the faithful Friend, the merciful Landlord, the compassionate Master, the generous Patron, the unwearied Advocate for the Poor, the Miserable, and Helpless; and in a Word, the compleat *fine Gentleman*. He passes thro' all the various Scenes of Life like a River flowing with Blessings, conveying Beauty, Riches and Plenty into every Channel and Country thro' which it passes.

Clodius is a Person of Honour, a scrubby Branch of an ancient and honourable Stock, which for many Years has borne neither Fruit nor Blossom, but projected a noxious baneful Shade around it. *Clodius* bears himself high on account of his honourable Birth and Title, and never fails to exert an aukard ridiculous Superiority, whenever he falls in Company with wiser or better Men than himself. But he has heard that Humility is a certain Token of good Sense and true Honour, which he is resolved to shew upon proper Occasions, and when the humble Fit comes upon him, he will crack Jokes with his Footmen, get drunk with a Hackney Coachman, and bestow his bodily Favours upon any pretty cleanly Female, without enquiring into her Quality; but he never forgets to resume his Superiority, whenever he is conversing with a *Man of real Merit*, who cannot reckon so many honourable Grandfathers as himself. I had once the Honour to meet this extraordinary Person among other Company at a Gentleman's Table, who was the Delight of his Friends, a Blessing to his Neighbourhood, and an Ornament to his Country. In the Course of Conversation, honourable Mention was made of a late noble Lord, who by a Train of meritorious Services to his Prince and Country, had raised himself from an obscure Birth and Fortune to the Dignity of Peerage. *Clodius* took fire at once, all his illustrious Blood boiled with Indignation, and he insulted his Memory with all those Expressions of Scorn and Contempt, which *Fools of Distinction* usually pour out upon their Betters. My Friend had Patience to hear his
Spring

String of abusive Stories, and scurrilous Reflections, and then reply'd, Sir, says he, Lord * * * * was my Friend, and had he been living, you durst not have used him at this Rate; and to attack his Memory with reproachful Language is mean and ungenerous, and which I cannot help resenting. The very Reflections you have made upon the Obscurity of his Birth and Fortune, are the highest Compliment you can make to his personal Merit, which in Spite of those Disadvantages, could so effectually recommend him to the Favour of his King and Country. The Advantages of Birth and Fortune, on which you set so immoderate a Value, are no Man's Merit, and are as often the Lot of a Fool, as of a wise Man; and whenever that is the Case, they are so far from doing him Honour, that they only serve to make him more egregiously ridiculous, by setting his Folly in a more conspicuous Point of View.

Craftsman, Sept. 20. N^o 742.

EXTRACTS from Oliver Cromwell's Declaration against Spain, in the Year 1655. Written originally in Latin by Milton.

THE just and most reasonable Causes and Grounds of our late Enterprize upon some Islands possess'd by Subjects of the King of Spain in the *West-Indies*, are very obvious to any, that shall reflect upon the Posture, wherein the said King and his People have always stood, in Relation to the *English* Nation in those Parts of *America*, which hath been no other than a continual State of open War and Hostility, at the first most unjustly begun by them, and ever since in like Sort continued and prosecuted, contrary to the common Right and Law of Nations, and the particular Treaties between *England* and *Spain*.

It is true, indeed, that of late Years the *English* have for most Part been Patients, and upon the *Defensive* only, which may, possibly, occasion some to look upon the late Expedition into the *West-Indies*, as an Entrance into a new War, and not (as it was indeed) the Prosecution of a War already in Being, and still (notwithstanding all Endeavours on the Part of this State, for settling a firm Peace and friendly Commerce in those Parts) obstinately continued and carried on by the *Spaniards*; who, as often as they have Opportunity, without any just Cause or Provocation at all, cease not to kill and slaughter, nay sometimes, in cold Blood, to murder the People of this Nation, spoiling their Goods and Estates, destroying their Colonies and Plantations, taking also their Ships (if they meet with any) upon those Seas, and using them in all Things as Enemies, or rather as Rovers or

Pirates; for so they most injuriously and ignominiously brand all Nations, except themselves, which shall presume to sail upon those Seas, upon no other or better Right and Title than that of the *Pope's* Donation, and their first discovering some Parts of the *West-Indies*; whereupon they would appropriate to themselves the sole Seigniorship of that new World; of which most absurd Pretension there will be Occasion to speak more largely, when we come to consider the Causes, why the *Spaniards* should think it reasonable for them to exercise all Manner of Hostility in those Parts against the *English*, in so far as to make such of them as, by Stress of Weather, Shipwrack, or other like Casualty, are cast upon those Coasts, Prisoners, nay Slaves, and yet to account it a great Injury, and Breach, of the Peace, (even here in *Europe*) for the *English* to attempt any Thing upon them in those Parts, by Way of Retaliation, and for their just Satisfaction.

But altho' the King of *Spain's* Embassadors (emboldened upon the Assurance of a prevalent *Spanish* Faction, always in the Council of the late King and his Father) have had the Confidence to make most ridiculous and irrational Complaints and Demands upon any Thing done in that Kind by the *English*; yet would not the said Kings (tho' too much addicted to the *Spaniards*) ever tie up their own Subjects Hands, where the *Spaniards* held their Hands to be loose, but suffered them to repel Force by Force, and to exercise Acts of Hostility in those Parts against the *Spaniards*, who never would keep any Peace there; insomuch, that about the Year 1640, when this Question came into Debate before the Council of the late King, the *Spanish* Ambassador demanding the Stop of certain Vessels then in the River, ready to set Sail for *America*, with Commissions to exercise Acts of Hostility there against the *Spaniards*; and the *English*, upon a Demand made of Commerce in the *West-Indies*, by the Lords of the Council appointed for that Affair, being denied the same, they determined, that the Ships should proceed in their Enterprizes, which they did accordingly.

Thus far the late Kings own'd their Subjects in the War they maintain'd in those Parts, upon their private Account; altho', thro' the Prevalency of the fore-mention'd *Spanish* Faction, they would never afford them that publick Protection, which was due to them, and which was suitable to the Honour and Interest of this Nation. And it would have been as dishonourable and unworthy for us, who, thro' the Goodness and Providence of God, were so well furnish'd with Ships of War fit for foreign Service, to have let them lie rotting at home, rather than to have employ'd them for the just Revenge of so much *English*, (why may we not also say?) *Indian* Blood.

Blood, so unjustly, so inhumanly, and cruelly spilt by the Spaniards in those Parts; since God hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitation; and at one Time or another, by some Hand or other, God will have an Account of the innocent Blood of so many Millions of Indians, so barbarously butcher'd by the Spaniards, and of the Wrong and Injustice that hath been done unto them.

Then after a particular Account of the Contravention of Treaties by the Spaniards, and of their Depredations, Insults and Barbarities towards the English; the Declaration goes on thus.

But since the King of Spain hath, both by Word and Deed, declared the Treaties of Peace to be so understood, he hath consequently concluded himself to have first violated the sacred Bonds of Friendship, by so many Acts of open Hostility, first exercised by him upon the English in those Parts, and from Time to Time continued ever since the last Treaty of Peace, as before hath been particularly declared; which is a Thing so evident, and notorious, that our Adversaries themselves cannot surely have the Face to deny the Matter of Fact, but will chuse rather to insist upon the Matter of Right, &c.

A double Title is pretended; that of the Pope's Donation, and that of first Discovery. As to the former, we know very well that the Pope hath, indeed, been very free in disposing of Kingdoms and Countries, therein being very unlike him, whose Vicar he pretendeth to be, that would not take upon him so much as to be a Judge to divide Inheritances, much less to give them away at his Pleasure, as the Pope hath done the Kingdoms of England, Ireland, and others. But we acknowledge no such Power in him; nor do we believe that any Nation is so void of Sense as to think he hath any such Power; or that the Spaniards themselves do believe it, or would affirm it, if the Pope had given as much away from them, as he hath given to them. And if the French and others, who acknowledge the Pope's Power in ecclesiastical Matters, do esteem this Title of the Spaniards ridiculous, it cannot be expected that we account it any other; and so we leave it as not worthy any further Answer.

And of as little Weight is their other Title, as if the Subjects of the King of Spain, having first made Discovery of some few Parts of America, and having given Names to some Islands, Rivers, and Promontories, they should be thereby intitled to the sole Seigniorship of that new World. But an imaginary Title, upon

such a Prescription, without Possession, cannot create any real Right. The best Title, that any can have to what they possess in those Parts of America, is Plantation and Possession, where there were no Inhabitants, or where there were any, by their Consent, or at least in such waste and desolate Parts of their Countries, as they are not able in any Measure to plant and possess; God having made the World for the Use of Men, and ordain'd them to replenish the same.

Upon which Grounds, as the Spaniards will have little Right to what they hold, having got all they have, contrary to the Consents, and out of the Bowels of the first Inhabitants, in whose Blood they have founded their Empire; and not found, but made great

Islands and whole Countries void of Inhabitants, having rooted out all the Natives; so, on the other Side, the English will have a very clear Title to their Plantations, especially to divers Islands, which the Spaniards have assaulted, and slain their Colonies in, which either never had any Inhabitants, or if destroy'd by the Spaniards, were also deserted by them, and left unpeopled. So that by the

Law of Nature, and of Nations, they rightfully accrue to the Occupiers and Possessors thereof, according to the known Maxim, *quis Nullius inquit, & pro derelictis habentur, cedunt Occupanti*; altho' if we had dispossest the Spaniards of the Places, where we planted our Colonies, and where they had first dispossest

and rooted out the Natives; we, as Avengers of those People's Blood and Wrongs, should have had a better Title to their Countries than their Oppressors and Murderers. But our Plantations having been where neither Natives nor Spaniards had any Possession, nor had left behind them any Habitations, Cattle, or other Thing, which might in any Sort retain, or preserve their Claim or Title, our

Right in those Places was the more clear, and the Wrongs and Injuries done unto us by the Spaniards the more apparent; especially in such Places, as were seized upon in Time of open War between the two Nations, (as were the Islands of Providence and Tortuga) whereupon if the Spaniards could have pretended any precedent dormant Title, yet not making their Claim upon the Close of the last Peace, by the 2d Article thereof they concluded themselves, as to any such Pretensions, and extinguish'd all future Claim and Right thereunto.

I have not Room (says Mr. D'Amers) to make any Comment upon this Declaration, nor indeed does it want any; for every Reader of common Sense will infer, that if an Usurper was not afraid to speak in such an high Strain, we can have no well-grounded Apprehensions from the Spaniards under a legal Monarch.

* See the rest of this Paragraph in our Magazine for March, 1738; p. 141. where there are other Extracts from this Declaration, with Remarks, which we therefore omit here.

I know it hath often been objected to *Cromwell*, that he nursed up the Power of *France* by making War upon *Spain*. But let that be true or false, I believe all those, who had any Hand in the Treaty of *Hanover*, and a long subsequent Train of Negotiations, will have more Regard to their own Characters than to insult the Memory of *Cromwell* upon that Account.

Common Sense, Sept. 27. N^o 190.

AN Accident lately happen'd in the Camp on *Hounslow-Heath*, which ought to have alarm'd the whole Nation; and yet the Generality receiv'd it with the same Indifference, as if they had read in a News Paper, that *Kouli Kan* had taken *Physick*, or the Great *Mogul* had got the Gripes.—What I mean is, that bold and unparallel'd Robbery lately committed by some Free Booters, upon some of those intrepid Sons of *Mars*, who have done their Country as much Service this Campaign,—as ever they did in their Lives.—Slily, (I may say) treacherously, they surpriz'd them in the Midst of their Cannon, observing the same Disposition which the *Germans* made in *Italy*, when the unfortunate *Marschal De Broglis* lost his Breeches, those fatal Breeches which are hang up as a Trophy in the Armory at *Vienna*, next to the Sword of *Francis I.*

This bold Attack was not made upon a raw new-raisd Corps, but upon veteran Troops, Men of Mettle, Men that have seen Blood; for I am credibly inform'd, it was upon the very Troop that so bravely engaged an Attorney's Clerk upon the Banks of a Horse-pond.

One of our News-Writers has just touch'd upon this Camp Robbery, and proposes that Watchmen may be appointed to guard the Camp.—I don't know what he means by this, for it is very well known, that Watchmen are always asleep; the Nights they sleep for the Publick, the Days for themselves: To describe an excessive Sleeper, you need only say, *he sleeps like a Watchman*. If the Army was to be trusted to the Guard of Watchmen, the Foot-Pads, might not only rob our Army, but run away with it.—I on the contrary propose, that the Army may from this Time forward be guarded by the Militia; I think the City Trainbands the most proper for this Purpose.—The standing Army must certainly be exceedingly beloved by the City,—the great Services they have done, and the little Money they cost, must be always in their Mind.—The People were entertain'd for several Years with fine Sights upon the Water, the annual Fleets at *Spithead*, the *Downs*, &c. but as our Ships of War were this Summer design'd for Business (as we were told) we were made Amends

by a very pretty Shew at Land. I have heard several Foreigners own, that no Troops in *Europe* were better powder'd. The Citizens ought to remember, that their Wives and Daughters partook of this Diversion:—This Camp has saved many an honest Man the Charge of sending his Family to *Barbometu Fair*.

A It is true, that many return'd much disappointed that they did not see a Battle. This has furnish'd the Disaffected with a Pretence for saying, that our new prefer'd Colonels did not know how to exhibit the Representation of a Battle. This is downright Scandal; some of them, no doubt, serv'd as Volunteers, when the Artillery Company attack'd and took *Porto Bello*, Sword in Hand, upon a Dunghil in *Moorfields*: But suppose they had been employ'd in a Service of another Nature by the great Man that Day, yet still they have all been at the Play-house, and there are several very good Battles still extant in certain Plays.—I hope therefore, before the Army marches into Winter Quarters, they will give us one of the best Battles they can pick out.

C As soon as this Robbery reach'd my Ears, the first Question I ask'd was,—have the Tea Equipages, dressing Tables, curling Irons, Essence Bottles, Paste, Pomatum, &c. of the Army escaped the Enemy? For what Confusion must an Officer be in, if he had not the Silver Lamp and Tea-board to produce to his Visitors? Or how could he shew his Face to the World again, if he had appear'd unpowder'd and uncurl'd? Would not the Ladies p— upon such an Army?—But when I learnt that nothing was lost but a few Guineas, I possess'd my Soul in Peace.

D I must renew my Exhortation about taking Care of the Army, tho' I cannot agree with those who are for sending for the *Danish* and *Hessian* Troops. First, it is possible they may not come, if sent for; they may be hired to two or three other Princes as well as to us, for *German* Troops often act like some *English* Lawyers, who take Fees on both Sides. Next, I am against their coming, because two of a Trade can seldom agree. And lastly, having been used to live upon free Quarter, they might rob our Army themselves; they might rob them of their Valour, which would be a national Loss.

E To conclude: Whether our Army guards us or not, let us guard our Army, let us cherish our Army, let us nurse our Army, nay, let us give Suck to our Army; for tho' it is above 25 Years old, it is still in its Cradle: Foreigners say it hath not a Tooth yet; yet it is a full-grown Babe, and as its Education hath cost this Nation such immense Sums of Money, I hope I am not to blame for wishing it may come to some Good at last.

A Comparison between the PASTORAL of the EAST and that of the WEST.

PART I.

WHEN nothing serious entertains the town,

And only pamphlet and romance go down;
Trifling amusements—which awhile may please,

But soon grown languid, in reflection cease;
Which like the meteor's evening flames expire,
Form'd from the vapours of dissembler'd air:
I chuse the calmer pleasures of the mind,
And in recess a sweet enjoyment find;
Free from the guilty scenes of life, peruse
The modest labours of the *Sylvan* muse;
On *Mantua's* flow'ry plains refine my care,
And soften reason when it's too severe.

There happy *Tityrus** fills the warbling reed,

And bids the list'ning flocks securely feed;
There peace and friendship are content to dwell
Beneath the covert of an humble cell.
There all is easy, no misfortune known,
But what arises from the factious town:

If *Manius* feels the wars, the muse complains
In notes so soft, in such engaging strains,
Pollio must yield; for how can *Pollio* hear
The muse complain, and yet reject her pray'r?

Now sounds the grateful pipe in every grove,
O'er ev'ry plain is heard the voice of love;
Now ring the woods with *Amaryllis'* name,
Nor less the charms of *Galatea* claim;
The gentle swains contend in rival lays,
Each sings his mistress in alternate praise;
So well *Dametas* and *Menalcas* sung,
Suspension flutters on *Palaemon's* tongue.
If in dispute the rival swains engage,
Their little quarrels never swell to rage;
They take the judgment of a neighbouring friend,

And in a song their short contentions end.
Each image is express'd with decent care;
No quarrel wounds the sight with scene severe,

Nor words immodest violate the ear.

Love sometimes wantons in the shepherd's eyes;

Beyond just bounds their passions never rise.
If chance they feel a little short despair,
Returning reason cools their am'rous care;
Unless when *Gallus* leaves the mournful grove,
Forc'd by the cruel pain of anxious love:
For him, concern appears thro' all the plain;
For him the woods, for him the rocks complain;

In vain his friends, in vain the nymphs dissuade,
He will not, yet he will pursue the maid.

All, all their reasons ineffectual prove;
All, all must yield, the shepherd yields to love.

Thus sung the poet near old *Menno's* stream;
Thus sweetly various is the poet's theme:

His scenes are also like his subject, new,
Here the gray morning shades its silent dew;
But where *Silenus* sings, the ling'ring ray,
With humid influence paints declining day,
Scarce the same tree returns, but diff'rent greens

Protect the shepherds, and improve the scenes:
If chance old *Mopsus* and *Menalcas* mourn,
And spend a friendly tear on *Daphnis'* urn,
The scene itself in gloomy shade complains,
And bears a part in sorrow with the swains;
O'er the dark cave the mantling vines are spread,

And all conspire to form an awful shade.

Nor dwells concern upon the scenes alone,
The shepherd's grief is by his measures known.
The plaintive numbers murmur thro' the lines,
And as the needle to the pole inclines,
Sounds ever faithful prove to all he wrote,
Move to the sense, and tremble to the thought.
Nor mourn the shepherds in too mean a strain,
Nor with an unbecoming grief complain;
Nor sighs, nor tears, can one rude page defend,
Nor speak the poet, tho' they shew the friend.
The pastoral muse should mourn with decent ease,

And by the sweetness of her sorrows please:
So *Venus*, when she mourns her only care,
Was wond'rous sad, but yet was heav'nly fair.

Nor stay the shepherds in the cave too long,
But with the praise of virtue close the song;
Just to the theme, the numbers swiftly rise,
And lift immortal *Daphnis* to the skies;
Then altars burn in honour of the god,
Joy rings in ev'ry grove, and sports on ev'ry flood.

So sung the poet, where the cheerful page
Describes the blessings of the golden age;
Or where he celebrates, in strains sublime,
The dawn of nature, and the birth of time:
Style to the standard of his subject's brought,
And gently rises with a rising thought.

Thus for a while does old *Alpheus* guide
His modest streams beneath th' *Ionian* tide;
But when the muse of *Syracusa* sings,
Its silver stream the old *Certicia* springs.

Some weakly think the shepherds here exceed,

And rather sound the trumpet than the reed;
But surely such (whoe'er they are) must own
A difference 'twixt the shepherd and the clown,
And grant *Menalcas* might have seen the
He never travels very far from home,
Yet warms the country with the sense of *Rome*.

PART II.

SUCH are the scenes of friendship and of love,

So sweet the poet's various numbers move;
I could for ever tend the flocks that feed
On the fresh verdure of the *Mantuan* mead,
For ever listen to the tuneful reed.

But

* See our Magazine for August, 1740, p. 396.

But while the *Mantuan* warms to soft
desire,

The muse of *Salem* sets my soul on fire;
Love flows with strong persuasion from her
tongue, [long;
Ten thousand raptures raise the charming
Yet no rude voice the name of love blasphemes,
Nor burns its altar with unworthy flames;
How hallow'd the design! when every page
Teems with the blessings of a future age.
She sings of truth's harmonious sweet increase,
The ways of pleasure, and the paths of peace;
The numbers wing'd with holy transport
seem,

While promis'd glory warms the sacred theme;
Ev'n thro' translators language and abuse,
We trace the foot-steps of an heavenly muse.
Thus, tho' the golden beams of *Phœbus* shine
With greatest splendor o'er the burning line,
Yet northern *Zembla* feels a distant ray,
And owns the comfort of a weaker day.
Such is the force, that energy divine, [line;
That soul of verse which strengthens ev'ry
The ornaments so rich, that some refuse
To grant such honours to the rural muse.
But these mean criticks sorely know no more
Than what is common to their native shore;
Mere strangers to the style of antient time,
And the rich produce of *Judea's* clime;
Where the sun kindles raptures in the veins,
Fires the young blood, and calls for higher
strains.

Well might the blooming *daffodil* infold
Menalcas' temples with its humble gold;
The beech, o'er *Mentze's* murmuring fountain
spread, [shade;
May veil the shepherds with its trembling
But wou'd we form the scene to *Juda's* clime,
What here is judgment, would be there a
crime; [lime.
What there is humble, wou'd be here sub-
There the bright sun must dart a fiercer ray,
While rising cedars cool the sultry day;
There *zephyrs* dip their wings in scented air,
While *cassia*, *myrrh* and *nard* adorn the fair.
Oh! how she melts in languishing desires,
Or smiles expressive of the softest fires!
Brisk as the morn that walks with early dawn
And rosy blushes o'er the eastern lawn;
While *Corydon* deceives the ling'ring hour
With distant pleasures of an old amour;
A nobler flame the sons of *Hermon* warms,
The sons of *Hermon* feel immediate charms;
Sweet as the lily of the vale, or rose
That on the spicy fields of *Sharon* grows;
Her teeth like flocks of fertile *Hermon* seem,
When pure they rise from *Jordan's* limpid
stream;
Her eyes are like the eyes of doves; her hair
Like fruitful herbs of happy *Galaad* fair;
Her voice as sweet as honey that distills
From the rich bloom of *Sanir's* shady hills.

Thus *Juda's* shepherds heighten ev'ry charm,
Soft is their language, their allusions warm;

Their passions glow with more than usual fire;
Their loves are zeal; and all their loves inspire.
Dissolv'd in mutual joys they chafely rove
Thro' all the blissful scenes of mystic love;
Nor *Jordan's* fountain, nor th' impetuous
stream

Of *Lebanon*, can quench the sacred flame.
When evening shades to soft repose invite,
And all things rest beneath the wings of night;
Their passion dawns in dreams upon the mind;
Love, no repose, but in itself can find.

An Extract from the VERSES on the Right
Hon. the Lady Elizabeth Hastings. (See
p. 48.)

AS when the fount, which to its ocean
tends,
First issuing, from the natal cliff descends;
Small in its rise, but gath'ring as it goes,
Drinks the large show'r, and heav'n-descend-
ing snows:

Nor leaves its course, yet bounteous all around
Teems on the meads, and flakes the thirsty
ground;

Bids its waves widen, and its wealth expand,
And pours a year of plenty o'er the land.

So down the stream of life while *Hastings*
rode, [flow'd;
Her heart with heav'n's descending grace o'er-
To thirst and toil, she turn'd the welcome tide,
Sweet flow'd her wealth, and her compassion
wide;

Bid ev'ry soul along her banks be blest,
And show'd them heav'n reflected in her breast;
Then loos'd from earth, and purg'd from ev'ry
stain, [main;
She reach'd her wish, and mingled with her
No more to sep'rate from the bright *abyss*,
To God united, and absorb'd of bliss.

On the Pleasures of the COUNTRY.

WHAT joys the country yields!
Charming joys the country yields,
When wild roses make sweet posies,
And new verdure decks the fields.

O how pleasant 'tis to view!
Wond'rous pleasant 'tis to view,
Fresh *Aurora* vie with *Flora*,
And the cowslips shine with dew.

How delightful 'tis to hear!
O delightful 'tis to hear!
Blackbirds singing, and woods ringing,
While sweet Zephyrs fan the air.

O how pleasing 'tis to praise!
More than pleasing 'tis to praise,
In green bowers crown'd with flowers,
Close in unstudied lays.

But how charming 'tis to spy!
More than charming 'tis to spy,
At the perusing her sweet musing,
Blushing cheeks, and tender eye.

Engrav'd on a DOG'S COLLAR.

TH^{O'} much caref'd I am, now in my prime,
 An ugly change is sure to come in time.
 This brazen collar, which my neck does grace,
 Must to an bempen cord at last give place.
 As soon as grown an uselefs tike, you'll see
 Old honest *Mufii* grinning at a tree. [breath
 And where's the harm, thus to resign ones
 In good old age, and die a natural death?
 Were typo-legg'd dogs try'd by fuch law, few
 then [ten.
 Wou'd live to count their threescore years and
 And to the gallows, who wou'd not consent,
 Those collar'd curs shou'd be an ornament,
 Which plac'd in trust their master's flock to keep,
 Rather than hurt the ewolves, betray the
 sheep;
 Wou'd *Damon* let his *Bobtails* swing,—behold,
 His faithful mastiffs soon wou'd clear the fold.
Wigan, 1740.

ORPHEUS and EURYDICE: Or,
the unfashionable Husband. A TALE.

OR^PHEUS of old (as poets tell)
 Took a fantastick tour to hell,
 To seek his spouse; as wisely guessing,
 She must be there, since she was missing.
 Downwards he journey'd, wond'rous gay,
 And angel-like, sang all the way;
 The reason was, or they bely'd him,
 He had no yoke-fellow beside him.
 Who's grotto's, as he pass'd along,
 Danc'd to the musick of his song:
 So have I seen upon the plains,
 A sidler captivate the swains.
 To *Pluto's* court, at last, he came,
 Where the god sat enthron'd in flame;
 And ask'd if his lost love was there,
Eurydice, his darling fair.
 The fiends, who list'ning round him stood,
 At the odd question laugh'd aloud:
 'This must some mortal madman be,
 'We fiends are happier far than he!
 Musick's sweet sounds o'er bell prevail,
 With good success he tells his tale;
 Sooths with soft arts the monarch's pain,
 And gets his bargain back again.
 'Thy pray'rs I've heard, grim *Pluto* cries,
 'On this condition take thy prize!
 'Turn not thine eyes upon the fair;
 'If once thou turn'st, she flies in air.'
 In am'rous chat they climb th' ascent;
Orpheus (as order'd) foremost went:
 But when two lovers downwards steer,
 The man falls always in the rear.
 Soon the fond fool turn'd back his head;
 As soon *Eurydice* was fled:
 If 'twas design'd, 'twas wond'rous well;
 But if by chance, more lucky still.

Happy's the man, all must agree,
 Who once from *wedlock's* noose is free:
 But he who twice from one is freed,
 Has most prodigious luck, indeed.

XANTIPPE Rediviva.

XAntippe, longo quondam devicta sopore,
 Creditur extremum sustinuisse diem:
 Protinus effertur (sic vult pia cura mariti)
 Ocyus extructis injicienda rogis. [trum
 Dum minus, beu! properat Libitinae turba, fere.
 Labitur, & magno verbera tundit humum.
 Excutitur somno Xantippe, & territa clamat,
 Quo rapitis? vivam solvite. Sponsus
 ubi est?
 Solvitur, auriculas demittit ad instar aselli
 Vir bonus, & dominae servit, ut ante, sua.
 Longa decennalis tandem post tædia regni, [arui.
 Ecce! iterum ad tumultum mortua fertur
 Cautior hinc conjux, & lentius ite sodales,
 Ne redeat lapsu priscus in ossa calor.

Thus ENGLISH'D.

AS wrap'd in death-like sleep *Xantippe* lay,
 'Twas thought her soul had gently stol'n
 away;
 Th' officious husband, with a pious care,
 Made no delay her fun'ral pile to rear:
 Too fast, alas! they move the seeming dead,
 With heedless steps the hasty bearers tread,
 And slipping, thump'd the coffin on the ground,
 Which made the hollow womb of earth re-
 sound:
 The sudden shock unscal'd *Xantippe's* eyes,
 O! whither do you hurry me? she cries:
 Where is my spouse? lo! the good man ap-
 pears,
 And like an ass hung down his dangling ears,
 Unwillingly renews his slavish life,
 To hug the marriage chain and hated wife:
 For ten long, tedious years he felt her pow'r,
 At length 'twas ended in a lucky hour.
 But now the husband, wiser than before,
 Fearing a fall might former life restore;
 Cries, soft! my friends! let's walk in solemn
 measure, [sure.
 Nor make a toll of that which gives us plea-

FLORIMEL. A SONG.

THE charms of *Florimel*,
 No force of time nor art,
 Shall sever from my heart;
 But ever to the world I'll tell
 The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.
 Each rock and sunny hill,
 The flow'ry meads and groves,
 Shall say *Mertilla's* loves;
 And e'ery sound conspire to tell
 The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.
 Each tree within the grove,
 Which on its bark doth wear

The

The triumphs of the fair,
To future times in verse shall tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.
Each brook and purling rill,
Shall on its bubbling stream,
Convey the charmer's name,
And as it rolls in murmure tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.
Ye *Sylvan* gods, that dwell
Within this sacred grove,
Bear witness of my love;
And *Ecco* shall be true to tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.

The foregoing render'd into *L A T I N*.

FLORELLA. CANTICUM.

F*LORELLÆ Veneres non ars non temporis
atq;*
Delebit, Veneres quas meminisse juvat!
Captanti at populo longe lateque ciebo
Laudes, Florellam dum lyra docta sonat.
Horti naturæ, montes & saxea moles
Mæste clamabunt, prob, Corydonis amor!
Omnia terrarum concordæ & voce sonabunt,
Florellæ quantum splenduit ore decus.
Arbor quæque suo cæolato nomine gaudens
Effigiem ramis ambitiosa tenet;
Proli venturæ dum carmen amabile dicit,
Florellæ quantum splenduit ore decus.
Rivulus & rivus turgenti devebet undâ
Regnantis nomen, quod mihi dulce sonat;
Et dum labuntur, narrabit murmure murmur,
Florellæ quantum splenduit ore decus.
Vot, Fauni, memori servetis pectore fatum,
Noscatur, Corydon pectore quanta tulit!
Totum & clamanti sylvam, Florella, sonabit
Ecco Florellam per juga celsa vigil.

Written Extempore at *ASTROP-WELLS*, in
August, 1740. By a young Gentleman of
Oxford, who came thither after having re-
sided for some Time at College.

Withdraw, young *Strepbon*, from the
learned gown,
And shun the pain of philosophic frown;
In *Astr-p*'s milder scenes of joy, delight, [vite.
Where all, that grateful please, the sense in-
Oh had I *Cowley*'s artful pen,
Cou'd speak of love, how, where and when;
Or like *Anacreon* paint the fair,
With *jen' scai quoy* & *debonair*!
Or cou'd I, like sweet *Waller*'s flowing lays,
In numbers soft tell *Sacharissa*'s praise;
Or how sad *Thyrsis* on his arm reclines,
And pensive all for *Amaryllis* pines! — [fill,
But ah! tho' these fond thoughts my bosom
Yet they're too nice for *Strepbon*'s ruder quill.
— But truth aloud, my faithful muse, proclaim,
Astr-p o'er *Cyprus* shall surmount in fame;
That but one *Venus* all its due cou'd prove,
This shows not one, but many *queens of love*.

On *CAPTAIN P—RS*.

TELL me, my heart, without disguise,
Why those unusual fears?
And why my sighs unbidden rise,
At sight of captain *P—rs*?
And why the blood from thee withdraws,
And in my face appears?
Say, is not mighty love the cause?
Why did I look on *P—rs*?
The wounded deer flies swift away,
Forsook by other deers;
But I my weakness still betray,
And tell my love for *P—rs*.
The part which pois'nous serpents wound,
The skilful artist fears
With iron; but alas! has found
No cure for wounds from *P—rs*?
With patience I endure the pain
Of ridicule and jeers,
In ev'ry place where I complain
Of cruelty from *P—rs*.
Coquets and prudes my conduct blame,
I value not their sneers!
For I will ever be the same,
Faithful to love and *P—rs*.
Th' attractive loadstone is the guide,
By which the sailor steers
His course o'er boundless oceans wide;
My magnet's captain *P—rs*.
No city lady has more pride,
Drest in her finest geers,
Than I, when to the camp I ride
To visit captain *P—rs*.
Not looking-glasses are to beaus,
Or to the taylor's shears
More useful, than for my repose
A look from captain *P—rs*.
One tender thought from him to gain,
I'd freely give my ears:
Well wou'd it recompence the pain
I feel for captain *P—rs*.
Vain are thy wishes! hapless maid!
In vain are all thy tears!
Vainly thou hop'st for any aid
From charming captain *P—rs*.
The youth, on nobler conquests bent,
At thy complaining sneers;
And nymphs more beautiful prevent
Thy least success with *P—rs*.
The dying saint, with bliss in view,
His head on pillow rears;
Till death I will my love pursue,
And brave my fate for *P—rs*.
If to my life the gods bestow
A hundred thousand years,
Not all that time can ever show
So bright a youth as *P—rs*.
Tho' *Hymen* ties the Gordian knot,
To bind the married dears;

The

The womens vows are soon forgot,
If once they look on P—rs.

But those, whose passions ev'ry turn
Of fickle fortune veers,
Alike for diff'rent swains may burn;
My only flame is P—rs.

May heav'n that's witness of my pain,
So punish as it hears;
When I a wish shall entertain,
That centres not in P—rs.

Germans and Spaniards I despise!
With *Monseurs* and *Mynbeers*;
An *Englishman* is what I prize!
For such is captain P—rs.

Fly hence, ye glitt'ring coxcombs, fly!
And cease your am'rous leers:
In vain you languish, vainly die!
For oh! I die for P—rs.

To love a victim, lo! I'll fall,
And pay my last arrears;
One sigh, for my sad fate! is all
I ask of lovely P—rs.

Shock'd at the dreadful pomp of death!
Of coffins, shrouds, and biers!
On second thoughts, I'll keep my breath:
A fig for captain P—rs. SYLVIA.

AN ÆNIGMA.

WHEN first created Sol's reviving light
Shot thro' the chaos of eternal night,
And when his genial beams were downward
hurld, [world,
From heav'n benign, to warm the infant
To chase, with glowing rays, the mist away,
Gladden the earth, and blaze the first-born
day;

On that great hour, did I descend to earth,
From parent Sol, the author of my birth;
From thence existing to the present time,
I traverse ev'ry nation, ev'ry clime;
Deck'd in the beggar's rags, or monarch's robe,
I pass each province of the spacious globe;
All forms, all shapes, promiscuously I wear,
Sometimes a man, sometimes a beast appear,
Sometimes like thing inanimate am seen,
And look a stately poplar on the green.
To me the languid lover oft repairs,
I oft assuage his pains, and lull his cares.
Tho' neither form nor substance can I claim,
Yet form and substance seem to be my frame.
Each morn a sure attendant I arise,
When father *Phœbus* gilds the eastern skiet.
All day on earth in ev'ry shape I tread,
But disappear, when he descends to bed;
Then, when the moon assumes her silver reign,
A constant vigil I arise again;
When oft the pallid villain I affright,
Intent on murder, at the noon of night,
Whose guilty conscience often I dismay,
Haunting, with silent steps, his bloody way;
And often too, in wond'rous strides I seem,
To stalk upon the surface of a stream;

Thus safe thro' wat'ry elements I 'scape,
Whereas on earth I'm seen in ev'ry shape:
I'm something, nothing, ev'ry thing toge-
ther,
And always seen, except in cloudy weather.

E.

To a young LADY, who ask'd what there could
be in her to excite Desire.

SINCE you can boast that heav'nly face,
That shape which all admire,
You sure, my lovely maid, may cease
To wonder, whence desire.

Musick has charms to melt the rock
Or bend the knotted oak,
To animate the senseless stock
Attracted by its stoak.

If beauty be compar'd with this
Superior 'twill be found:
The one affords substantial bliss,
The other's empty sound.

Can man then whose e'er thoughtful mind
Explores earth, sea and skies,
Be to thy bright perfections blind
Or to thy radiant eyes?

No. all thy matchless worth confess:
But what must I endure,
Who still adore, still seek redress,
Am still deny'd a cure?

A Pastoral SONG on the Death of the late
Duke of Tuscany. By a young English No-
bleman, then in Italy.

WHEN here, *Lucinda*, first we came,
Where *Arno* rolls his silver stream,
The nymphs how brisk, the swains how gay!
Content inspir'd each rural lay:
The birds in livelier concerts sung,
The grapes in thicker clusters hung;
All look'd as joy could never fail
Among the sweets of *Arno's* vale.

But now since good *Palæmon* dy'd,
The chief of shepherds, and the pride,
Now *Arno's* sons must all give place
To northern swains, an iron race!
All taste of pleasure here is o'er,
Thy notes, *Lucinda*, please no more:
The mules droop, the *Geths* prevail,
Adieu! the sweets of *Arno's* vale.

LOVE and ANGER.

SOFT love and rage by turns your breast
inspire; [fire;
Truth shines in both, each sets my heart on
In a sea prospect, smooth waves please the sight,
And storms may give us terrible delight;
But when inur'd to both, we find no harm;
Alike the calms, alike the tempests charm.

The Verses to Miss T—n, and several other
Pieces we have receiv'd, must be defer'd to
our next.

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.



IR *John Norris's Fleet*, which sailed on the 22d of last Month, (see p. 403.) on the 25th at Night were a-breast of the *Lizard*, when the Wind coming out at S. S. W. they were obliged to return to *Torbay*.

The following Instructions were presented to the Knights of the Shire for the County of Derby.

To the Right Hon. Lord Charles Cavendish, and Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bart. Representatives in Parliament for the County of Derby.

We the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Derby, take this Opportunity of expressing our Concern, that all Endeavours for obtaining a Bill for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons, have hitherto proved fruitless: We therefore recommend, and insist upon it, that you use your utmost Endeavours in the ensuing Session of Parliament, to promote a Bill for that Purpose, which we think so absolutely necessary for the securing of the Independency of Parliaments, and preserving our Liberties and ancient Constitution.

Instructions from the Gentlemen, &c. of the County of *Somerset*, to their Representative *.

To Thomas Strangeways Horner, Esq;

We the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, and Clergy of the County of *Somerset*, assembled at the Assizes and General Meeting at *Bridgewater*, on Friday, August the 15th, 1740, take this Opportunity of declaring how sensible we are of the Necessity of promoting a proper Bill for limiting the Number of Placemen in Parliament. We are convinced, that the Security of our Liberties is entirely founded upon the Independence of our Representatives; and we think the notorious Influence used by the Minister, over his Dependants, if not timely prevented, must prove fatal to those Rights, which we are determin'd to enjoy ourselves, and to transmit to Posterity. Therefore, we require you, to employ the utmost of your Endeavours to promote such a Bill, as will effectually put a Stop to this growing Evil. And farther we enjoin you, according to the ancient Usage of Parliament, not to give your Assent to any

Money Bill, or Supply, until the Grievance above-mention'd be fully and effectually redress'd.

The City of *Worcester* has admitted Admiral *Vernon* a Freeman of their Corporation.

A Representation having been made to the Lords of the Admiralty, of the precarious Situation of the Trade of the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, from the Number of *Spanish* Privateers on the *French* Coast; their Lordships have order'd the *Lyme* and *Swift* Men of War, and two arm'd Sloops, to cruize on the said Coast.

Letters from *Cadix* confirm the Account of the *Ferrol* Squadron's being sail'd, and add, that there are five Battalions of regular Troops on board, besides several Independent Companies, with a large Quantity of Fire-Arms.

There were Letters also which gave an Account, that the *Toulon* Squadron, consisting of 12 Ships of the Line, were actually put to Sea.

On Aug. 28, the Dean of the Guild and his Council attended his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* with the Compliments of the whole Guildry, as follows:

My Lord,

We are deputed by the Guildry of the City of *Edinburgh*, to wait upon your Grace with the Compliments of that Body, and in their Name to return you their hearty Thanks for the many Favours which they owe to your Grace.

They think it doubly their Duty to give you this publick Mark of their Gratitude; as *Citizens of Edinburgh*, for the Protection which you gave in so generous and so successful a Manner to this City and Magistrates thereof, when her Privileges, and even her very Being, as a corporate Body, were in the utmost Danger; as *Britons*, for your noble and disinterested Behaviour in Parliament.

They are very sensible how closely the real Interest of the *King* and *Country* is connected with the Independency of Parliaments; that it is the Duty of every good Subject and true Lover of his Country, to have that in their View in all Elections, and so far as they have any Influence, it shall be employed in promoting so valuable a Purpose.

His Grace's Answer.

Gentlemen,

If I had served my King, his Royal Family, and my Country, with as much Ability and Success,

* Their other Representative was Sir William Wyndham, who is lately dead. (See p. 301.)

Success, as I have done with Zeal and Honesty, I might have deserved some Share of the Applause you are generously pleased to bestow upon my good Intentions. I have undoubtedly meant to do my Duty, and to that End have ever steadily avoided all Manner of Dependence upon any of my Fellow-subjects in Power; and have never attempted, directly or indirectly, to bring any Man to the least Dependence upon me. I have strictly observed the Golden Rule, *of doing by others as I desire they would do by me*. But as careful as I have been by all my Actions to prove this Truth, there are, it seems, some Persons, tho' pretending to be my Friends, who find it their Interest, by injurious Insinuations, to dispute it. All Men must expect to have Enemies. I heartily forgive mine, and shall never endeavour to inflict any other Punishment upon them, than that of forcing them to esteem the Man, whom their dirty pecuniary Views oblige them to hate.

Gentlemen, I thank God, he has given me Spirit enough, to detest and scorn all Views of Self-interest in my publick Conduct; and, as one Evidence of my Sincerity, I heartily wish and pray, that every Man may do what his Conscience directs him to think will conduce to the Service of his King and Country, without the least Regard to his private Interest, or to any Subject whatever. For my own Part, I hope I shall be able, by my future Conduct, to convince every Man, who is capable of Conviction, that I most sincerely look upon *Virtue* to be its own Reward.

There was a prodigious Struggle in many Boroughs of Scotland relating to their Election of Magistrates, as the Choice of Parliament Men must be affected by it. One Thing is remarkable of *Dumfries*, that they have come to very strong and solemn Resolutions amongst themselves to oppose, detect, and punish Bribery, if it shall ever appear amongst them.

THURSDAY, Sept. 4.

At the Sessions at *Bristol*, four Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, and three were order'd for Transportation.

SATURDAY, 6.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the two following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Abraham Hancock*, for assaulting *Hannab Prince* on the Highway, and robbing her of several Pieces of Linen: And *George White*, for robbing a Surgeon on the Highway near *Old Ford* by *Boro*.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

His Majesty's Royal Charter pass'd the Broad Seal to erect *Hart-Hall* in *Oxford* into a College, by the Name of *Hertford College* in the County of *Oxford*; to consist of a Principal, four Senior and eight junior Fellows. Also his Majesty's Grant, appointing *Richard New-*

ton, D. D. and Principal of *Hart-Hall*, to be first and modern Principal of *Hertford College*; to hold in Mortmain, not exceeding 500*l*.

On a Tomb-Stone prepar'd to be sent to *Jamaica*, under the Arms, is this Motto:
Dieu sur Tout.

Here lies the Body of *Lewis Galdy*, Esq; who departed this Life at *Port Royal* the 22d of *December* 1739, aged 80. He was born at *Montpellier* in *France*, but left that Country for his Religion, and came to settle in this Island, where he was swallow'd up in the great Earthquake in the Year 1692, and by the Providence of God was by another Shock thrown into the Sea, and miraculously sav'd by swimming until a Boat took him up. He liv'd many Years after in great Reputation, belov'd by all that knew him, and much lamented at his Death.

SATURDAY, 13.

This Day Sir *John Norris*, with the Squadron under his Command, arriv'd at *Spit-head*. And about Eleven at Night his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* arriv'd at *St. James's* from on board his Majesty's Ship the *Boyne*.

SUNDAY, 14.

Extract of a Letter from Dover.

We hear from *Dunkirk*, that they are actually at Work in repairing that Place, and cleansing the Harbour; that there are several Engineers, and a great Number of Hands employed; and that there are several Vessels taken up for that Purpose. Also, that they are raising three Batteries of 50 Guns each.

MONDAY, 15.

Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth.

This Moment arriv'd the *Grampus* Sloop, in 16 Days from *Admiral Haddock*, and brings Advice that the *Toulon* Squadron, consisting of about twelve Sail, and the *Spanish* Squadron of six Sail from *Cartagena* were arriv'd at *Malaga*, and were busy in taking on board a Number of Troops.

THURSDAY, 18.

This Day at Noon *Commodore Anson*, in his Majesty's Ship the *Centurion*, with all the Ships and Vessels under his Command, sail'd from *St. Helen's* with the Wind at *South-East*.

The same Day was held a General Court of the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ due at *Michaelmas* next, for the Half-Year's Interest, was declar'd on the capital Stock of the said Company, to be payable the 16th of *October* next.

FRIDAY, 19.

Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordships sign'd a Commission, appointing *Philip Cavendish*, Esq; Admiral of the Blue, to be Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Ships and Vessels, in the Absence of Sir *John Norris*, Vice Admiral of *England*.

SATURDAY, 20.

This Morning the Fleet from *Torbay* join'd

the Fleet under the Command of Commodore Anson from St. Hellen's, and sail'd Westward with the Wind hard at East.

Ships of War intended for the West-Indies, under the Command of Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Ten Third Rates of 80 Guns, and 600 Men, viz. Boyne, Shrewsbury, Norfolk, Torbay, Russel, Cumberland, Princess Amelia, Princess Caroline, Chichester, Cambridge.—Nine Third Rates of 70 Guns, and 480 Men, viz. Prince Frederick, Prince of Orange, Lepax, Kent, Elizabeth, Grafton, Buckingham, Orford, Suffolk.—Ten Fourth Rates of 60 Guns, and 400 Men, viz. Augusta, Lyon, Rippon, York, Montague, Jersey, Dunkirk, Deptford, Weymouth, Superb.—Four Fourth Rates of 50 Guns, and 300 Men, viz. Litchfield, Faulkland, Assistance, Newcastle.—One Sixth Rate of 20 Guns, and 130 Men, viz. Sea Horse.—Six Fire-Ships of 45 Guns, viz. Scipio, Strombolo, Firebrand, Vesuvius, Vulcan, Etna.—Two Hospital Ships of 92 Men each, viz. Princess Royal, Scarborough.

THURSDAY, 25.

The Parliament which stood prorogu'd to the 30th Instant, was order'd to be farther prorogu'd to Nov. 18. when they are to sit for the Dispatch of Business.

Great Numbers of Liverymen having resolv'd to renew the Opposition to the Election of Sir George Champion to the Office of Lord Mayor; on this Day, after several previous Meetings, a great Body of very eminent Citizens met at *Vintners-Hall*, when Mr. Glover being in the Chair, made a very pathetick Speech; after which, they unanimously resolv'd to return Sir Robert Godschall and Mr. Alderman Heatbete to the Court of Aldermen, for one of them to be Lord Mayor.

The Account of the French Troops marching towards the Sea Coasts of France, is confirm'd by a great Number of Letters, some of which say, that the Body ordered along the Coast next Great Britain, will make at least 60,000 Men.

SUNDAY, 28.

Mr. Alderman Marshall and Mr. Alderman Hoare, the two new Sheriffs, were this Day sworn in at *Guild-Hall*.

MONDAY, 29.

George Heatbete, Esq; Alderman, was return'd (by the Court of Aldermen) Lord Mayor of the City of London for the ensuing Year; so that Sir George Champion was again set aside. (See *London Magazine* for October, 1739. p. 499, &c.)

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

RICHARD Clarke, Esq; of Northamptonshire, to Miss Elizabeth Aspley.—Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Barrington, Memb. of Parl. for Berwick, to Mrs. Grimston, Widow of the Hon. Mr. Grimston, eldest Son of the Lord Viscount Grimston, and Daughter of the late Henry Level, Esq; a 50,000*l.* Fortune.—Da-

niel Bineham, Esq; to Mrs. Walton, Relict of Peter John Walton, Esq;—Mr. Edward Cookes, an eminent French Merchant, to Mrs. Le Hunt.—Watkyn Wynn, of Voylar, Esq; to Miss Clayton, an Heiress of 2000*l.* per Annum.—Joseph Searle, of Winchester, Esq; to Mrs. Pengry.—Mr. John Lyde, Apothecary in Aldersgate-street, to Mrs. Aprice of Goodman's Fields.—William Calvert, Esq; to Mrs. Sampson, a Fortune of 500*l.* per Annum.—Mr. Christopher Horsenail, a Common-Council Man for the Ward of Farringdon Without, to Mrs. Hayward.—Dr. Sibborth, Brother to Coningsby Sibborth, Esq; Member of Parliament for Lincoln, to Miss Waldo.—The Lady of Sir William Wolsley, Bart. safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.—Countess of Stamford, of a Son.—The Lady of Col. Dives, of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of Christopher Wywill, Esq; Auditor of the Excise, of a Son and Heir.—Hon. Lady Arabella Monk, Sister to the Duke of Portland, of a Son.—The Lady of Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. of a Son.—The Lady of Lewis Way, Esq; of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of Sir Robert Eden, Bart. of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

DR. James Elderton, who was lately appointed chief Surgeon of the Hospital-Ship station'd at Portsmouth.—Sir Robert Baird, of Sauchton-hall in Scotland, Bart.—Hugh Smithson, Esq; who represented the County of Middlesex in several Parliaments, Great Uncle to Sir Hugh Smithson, Bart. one of their present Representatives, to whom his Estate falls.—Capt. John Aldred, a brave and experienced Officer, who in the Reign of Queen Anne, was Commander of the Solebay and Rochester Men of War: In 1710, he was Commander in Chief of all her Majesty's Forces in Newfoundland, and in Conjunction with the Severn, Capt. Padner, and the Portland, Capt. Purvis, took and destroy'd great Numbers of French Ships on the Banks of Newfoundland, Bay of Bulls, &c.—At Gaywood in Norfolk, John Harris, Esq; who has left a Legacy of 5000*l.* to the Daughter of Francis Hebburne, of Lynn, Esq;—Mr. William Gowell, who rebuilt Shoreditch Church, and many other publick Edifices.—At Chatham, Mr. Best, Brewer to the Navy, and Father of the brave Admiral Vernon's Lady.—Mrs. Wilks, Relict of Mr. Wilks, the celebrated Comedian.—Dr. John Smart, Physician to Chelsea Hospital.—Henry Grey, Esq; Member of Parl. for Reading in Berks.—Rev. Dr. Henry Barker, a Prebendary of Westminster Abby, aged 85, who gave 300*l.* per Ann. away in Charities.—The Lady of Sir Thomas Parkyns, of Bunny near Nottingham, Bart.—Sir Robert Fagg, Bart. Member of Parliament for Steyning in Sussex.—Mr. Alveris, an eminent Jew Merchant of this City.—Rev. Mr. Seymour, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

1740

Q q q

—Rev.

—Rev. Dr. *William Tilly*, formerly Fellow of *Corpus Christi College*, and Rector of *Albury* and *Ricott* in *Oxfordshire*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

JOHNSON, L. L. D. instituted to the Rectory of *Wentworth* in the Isle of *Ely*. — Mr. *Carr*, of *Twickenham*, collated to the Rectory of *Stretball* in *Essex*. — Mr. *Ditton* chosen Lecturer of *St. Mary's*, *Islington*. — *John Lacey*, M. A. made a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of *Rockester*. — Mr. *Timothy Rutter* inducted into the Rectory of *Upwell* in *Norfolk*, worth upwards of 500*l.* per Annum. — Dr. *Nichols*, Head Master of *Westminster School*, made a Prebendary of *Westminster-Abby*, in the Room of Dr. *Barber*, deceased.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

MR. *Harris*, Gentleman to the Lord *Sunderland*, made Register in the Stamp Office. — Lord *George Sackville*, Captain in Lord *Catheart's* Reg. of Horse, made Lieut. Col. of the Reg. of Foot, commanded by Col. *Bragg*. — Lord *Montague Bertie*, first Lieut. of the *Gloucester*, made Capt. of one of the new 20 Gun Ships. — Capt. *Cotterel*, of the *Canterbury*, made Capt. of the *Lion*. — *William Tucker*, and *Matthias Hilderfson*, Esqrs. made Gentlemen Pensioners to his Majesty. — *Richard Gildart*, Esq; jun. made Receiver General of the Taxes for the County of *Lancaster*. — *John Wilson*, Esq; made Attorney General of *Rhode Island*, and of *Providence* in the *Leeward Islands*. — Capt. *Ambrose* made Capt. of the *Rupert*, a 60 Gun

Ship. — Capt. *Clinton*, of the *Nassau*, an 80 Gun Ship. — Capt. *Dennison*, of the *Augusta*, an 80 Gun Ship. — Capt. *Rycant*, of the *Grafton*. — Capt. *Peter Osborn*, of the *Salisbury*, of 50 Guns. — Lord *Forrester*, Capt. of the *Biddisford*, a 20 Gun Ship. — Capt. *Tho. Osborn* of the *Prince of Orange*, of 70 Guns. — Capt. *Robert Martin*, of the *Litchfield*; — Capt. *Robert Allen*, of the *Rockester*; — and Capt. *Trevor*, of the *Chichester*; of 50 Guns each. — Dr. *Hoadley*, M.D. Son of the Right Rev. Dr. *Hoadley*, Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, appointed Physician to *Chelsea College*, in the room of Dr. *Smart*, deceased.

PERSONS declar'd Bankrupts.

EDWARD *Ford*, late of *Exeter*, Grocer. — *William* and *John Johnston*, late of *Exeter*, Chapmen and Partners. — *Josiah Ridgwell*, of *Shoemaker-Row*, *Black Fryars*, *London*, Robe-maker. — *Samuel Tucker*, of the Borough of *Southwark*, Chapman. — *Thomas Martyr* the Elder, of the Parish of *Hadley* in the County of *Surrey*, Grazier and Dealer. — *John Burnham*, of *Totbill Street*, *Westminster*, Linen-draper. — *William Donn*, late of *Tborn-Coffin* in the County of *Somerset*, Chapman. — *Thomas Timbrell*, of *Lombard Street*, Goldsmith and Banker. — *Thomas Lucas*, late of *Leeds*, Woolstapler. — *Benjamin Bailey*, of *London*, Vintner. — *John Strudwick*, late of *Chichester*, Maltster. — *William Watson*, of *Durham*, Mercer. — *Henry de la Rivier*, of *Berkley-Row* near *Grosvenor-square*, Warehouseman and Taylor.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 96 a 95 $\frac{1}{2}$ *African* 10
— *Ann.* 111 a 110 $\frac{1}{4}$ *Royal Aff.* 91 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 141 $\frac{1}{4}$ a 140 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Lon. ditto* no Transf.
— *Circ.* 61 7s 6d 3 p. *C. Ann.* 100
M. Bank no Transfer *Salt Tallies* $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$
India 155 a 154 *Emp. Loan* 108 $\frac{7}{8}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$
— *Bonds* 31 9s a 6s *Equiv.* 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 2 a 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Bilboa* 41 $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight 34 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 8 *Legborn* 50 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rotter. 35 2 a 1 *Genoa* 55
Hamb. 34 *Venice* 51 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paris 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Lisbon* 5s 3d $\frac{3}{4}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$
Bourdx. 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$ *Porto* 5s 4d $\frac{1}{4}$
Cadiz. 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ *Antw.* 35 11
Madrid 42 *Dublin* 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

<i>Wheat</i> 37 41	<i>Pease</i> 12 13
<i>Rye</i> 18 20	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 20
<i>Barley</i> 17 19	<i>H. Beans</i> 19 26
<i>Oats</i> 15 16	<i>B. Malt</i> 19 20
<i>Tares</i> 21 25	<i>P. Malt</i> 19 25

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Aug. 26. to Sept. 23.

Christned	Males	558	1082
	Females	524	
Buried	Males	844	1694
	Females	850	
Died under 2 Years old			704
Between	2 and	5	169
	5	10	64
	10	20	56
	20	30	105
	30	40	150
	40	50	151
	50	60	114
	60	70	89
	70	80	53
	80	90	36
	90 and upwards		3
			1694

Hay 56 to 63s. a Load.

THE

THE *Dutch* have at last agreed upon the proposed Augmentation of their Army and Navy, the Resolution for that Purpose being unanimously agreed to by the States General upon the 14th of last Month. Whereupon the several Colleges of Admiralty were summoned to meet at the *Hague*, towards the latter End of last Month, to confer with the Deputies of their High Mightinesses upon the properest and most expeditious Means of fitting out the appointed Equipment, which was to be begun with 6 Ships of about 60 Guns. At the same Time a Committee of the aforesaid Deputies was appointed, in Conjunction with some of the Council of State, to consider of and regulate the Time and Manner in which the new Levies are to be raised.

The Interest of the Prince of *Orange* seems in some of the United Provinces to be upon the Decline; for those of *Friesland*, *Guelderland*, and *Groninguen*, whereof he is Stadtholder, are not so condescending to him, as they have been heretofore; and at a late Assembly of the States of *Friesland*, there appeared a Party which complained highly of some Encroachments made by the Prince upon the Rights of the States; upon which Occasion, the Dispute grew so warm, that the Assembly was said to resemble a *Polish* Dyet, rather than an Assembly of wise and cool Dutchmen.

Towards the latter End of last Month, as some Meal-Waggons were going thro' *Versailles* for *Paris*, the Bakers of that Village stopt them, and insisted upon the Meal's being sold to them, which the others refusing to comply with, and the Bakers being assisted by the Mob, a Tumult ensued, in which 3 or 4 Persons were killed, particularly a Woman with Child, who came to the Assistance of her Husband. But tho' that Village be always full of regular Troops, we do not hear, that any of them were sent to disperse the Mob.

About the Middle of last Month, a Squadron of 15 *French* Men of War sailed from *Brass*, steering their Course to the Southward; and about the same Time, another Squadron of 12 *French* Men of War, with some Frigates, sailed from *Toulon*, directing their Course towards the Mouth of the Streights. Where these two Squadrons are designed, or what Instructions they are furnished with, remains as yet a Secret. But his most Christian Majesty now begins to declare, that as he is Guarantee of the *Spanish* Dominions by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he thinks himself obliged to assist *Spain*, if we attempt to take any of their Dominions from them; and as his Subjects are greatly concerned in the *Spanish* Fleet's and Gallies, he must fall upon some Method to secure and bring home their Effects. Thus *France* seems to tell us, that

we shall prosecute the War no Way but by Reprisals at Sea, which she will take Care to render quite ineffectual with Regard to us, by carrying on the *Spanish* Trade in *French* Bottoms; and as these are Terms we cannot comply with, a War with *France*, as well as *Spain*, seems now to be unavoidable; which the *French* seem to foresee, and for this Reason they have already begun to repair and restore the Harbour and Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, in open Violation of that very Treaty from whence they now claim a Pretence to assist *Spain* against us.

The *Ferrol* Squadron being sailed, and the *Spaniards* thinking it impossible, or not worth their While, to amuse us any longer with an intended Invasion, the late Duke of *Ormond* has received some Part of his Arrears, and is preparing to set out from *Madrid* upon his Return to *Avignon*.

We hear from *Naples*, that two *Dutch* Vessels have been taken by a *Spanish* Privateer, and brought into *Messina*, both which he pretends to be lawful Prize. One of them was bound from *Gallipoli* to *Rotterdam*, which the *Spaniard* seized because, as he pretends, the Cargo belongs to *British* Subjects; and the other was bound from *Trani* to *Lisbon*, which he seized, because the Master was an *Englishman*, tho' a Burgher of *Amsterdam*. Thus the *Spaniards* shew us, how we are to treat any neutral Ships that shall be employed in carrying on the *Spanish* Trade.

The Difficulties which retarded the *Turkish* Ambassador's Entry at *Vienna*, being all at last removed, that Minister made his solemn Entry on the 12th of last Month. Upon this Occasion, the Ambassador was mounted upon one of the Emperor's finest Horses, with stately Accoutrements. He was dressed in a scarlet Robe lined with Ermine, and richly embroidered with Gold. He had upon his Head a Turban, with a Plume of Feathers adorned with precious Stones; and he carried in his Hand a Sort of Fan or Umbrella of Feathers. The Ambassador and his Retinue, which is very numerous, are lodged in the Suburb *St. Leopold*, where eight of the largest Houses in that Quarter were prepared for their Reception; and great Care has been taken at *Vienna*, to prevent any Quarrel happening with any of this Minister's Retinue.

A Dispute having lately happened between the King of *Prussia* and the Bishop of *Liege*, in relation to a Right of Sovereignty claimed by the latter, over some Part of the Territory of *Herstal*, and his *Prussian* Majesty thinking himself injured, caused to be published his Manifesto against the Bishop on the 20th of last Month at *Wesel*; which Manifesto was on the 13th followed by 2000 *Prussian* Grenadiers and Dragoons, who entered the Barony of *Herstal* at *Maseyck*, where they

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they are to live at Discretion, till the Bishop of *Liege* agrees to do Justice to his *Prussian* Majesty.

The World has been lately surprized with the King of *Sweden's* Letters Patent for convoking the general Diet of the States of that Kingdom, which was published the 18th of last Month, and was the less expected, because it was thought the Ministry were against it; but it seems, they at last, by the Advice of the *French* Ambassador, proposed it in the Senate, whereupon it was agreed to, and the Diet is to assemble on the 4th of *December* next. In the mean Time, the *French* and *Russian* Parties in that Kingdom are busy making Interest, and 'tis thought there will

be a very great Contest between *French* *Louis d'ors* and *Russian* *Ducats*. Perhaps the latter may be supported by some *English* *Guineas*, which may be usefully employed there at this present Juncture.

We have just received a long Account of the vast Riches which *Thomas Kouli Kan* has brought from the *Great Mogul's* Country. It would be too long to give the Particulars, but the Whole amounts to near 550,500,000*l.* *Sterling*; and he has obliged that Prince to promise him an annual Tribute of 7,500,000*l.* *Sterling*; which Sums, are perhaps, too large for the Belief of those that are unacquainted with the immense Riches of that Part of the World.

The Monthly Catalogue for September, 1740.

HISTORICAL.

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